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# **FILIPINO PLANTATION WORKERS IN HAWAII**

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**EDNA CLARK WENTWORTH**

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# FILIPINO PLANTATION WORKERS IN HAWAII

*A Study of Incomes, Expenditures and Living Standards  
of Filipino Families on an Hawaiian Sugar Plantation*

By

EDNA CLARK WENTWORTH

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*A Report in the International Research Series of the  
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## PREFACE

This study is one of a series designed by the International Research Committee of the Institute of Pacific Relations to secure information on standards of living in various Pacific regions. It reports and analyzes income and expenditures of the lowest paid group of employees in the sugar industry in Hawaii. The sugar industry is the most important in the Islands, and its products play an important part in the domestic trade of the United States. The investigation here reported was made during 1933 and 1934 at the request of the Standards of Living Committee of the Hawaii Group of the American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations.

Under the direction of Dr. Felix M. Keesing, Mr. Roman R. Cariaga, graduate student in anthropology at the University of Hawaii, spent six weeks on the plantation during the summer of 1935, visiting the 101 families covered in this study. He prepared a report interpreting Filipino living conditions in Hawaii as compared with life in the Philippines. This manuscript has been utilized frequently throughout the report, and I am much indebted to Mr. Cariaga for his information which has materially enhanced the value of this study.

The text was read and criticized in detail by Mrs. Marie Keesing of Honolulu, Dr. Arnold Zemple of Washington University, St. Louis, and my husband, Dr. Chester K. Wentworth, to each of whom I am grateful for many suggestions followed in the revision. A number of other friends of the author have read a part or all of the manuscript and their assistance is here appreciatively acknowledged. It should be noted that neither the American Council nor the Institute of

Pacific Relations as a whole accepts responsibility for statements of fact or opinion expressed herein. For these statements I am solely responsible.

Although an effort has been made, since the first draft of the report was prepared, to include information on more recent years, it is not claimed that the study can portray in all details the present situation in 1940. There have inevitably been changes in the position of Filipino plantation workers, but it is believed that the general picture here presented of living and working conditions and of Filipino community life is, in its main outlines, accurate and instructive.

EDNA CLARK WENTWORTH

*Washington University  
St. Louis  
June 1940*

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## FILIPINO PLANTATION WORKERS IN HAWAII

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

The prosperity of Hawaii depends upon sugar. Approximately one-third of the population of the Hawaiian Islands is living on sugar plantations and is entirely dependent upon plantation employment. If other organizations connected with the sugar industry are considered, such as stores and agencies, steamship companies, railroads, public utilities, and the like it has been estimated that approximately 70 per cent of the people of the Islands are directly dependent upon the sugar industry for their livelihood.<sup>1</sup>

At present there are 40 sugar plantations, of which 38 belong to the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, an organization set up, among other things, for research and the handling of problems common to all sugar producers in the Territory. Each of these plantations has financial relations with the "factors" or agents which handle its marketing, financing, and shipping problems. Although stock ownership in the sugar industry is widely distributed,<sup>2</sup> unanimity of action in regard to the problems of the sugar companies is secured and

<sup>1</sup> From an unpublished report to Governor Poindexter by the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, prepared by Richard A. Cooke, in connection with the crop restriction features of the Jones-Costigan Act. Honolulu, 1934.

<sup>2</sup> "There are some 16,000 individual stockholders of the plantations, about 11,000 of whom are residents of the Territory of Hawaii . . . The stock of even these (the operating control) is widely distributed. Of the approximately 250,000 acres in cane . . . less than half are owned in fee by the plantations while 109,471 are leased from 600 odd landlords. The remaining cane area of about 16,000 acres consists of lands controlled by some 1,500 independent planters who raise sugar cane on their own account and sell it to the plantations." *Report of the President, Proceedings of the 55th Annual Meeting of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, Honolulu, 1936, p. 20-21.*



strengthened through interlocking directorates. The pineapple industry in the Territory is virtually controlled by one of the factors. Practically all the other industries in the Territory are likewise related through directorships with one or several of the Big Five as the five factors are locally known.<sup>3</sup>

Several recent studies have covered in comprehensive fashion the history of the sugar industry in Hawaii.<sup>4</sup> The first sugar plantation enterprise on Kauai (1835) recruited its labor supply from natives of the Islands. But the monotonous work of the plantation proved unattractive to the Hawaiians, and "by 1850 shortage of labor was rated along with the scarcity of capital, as the most difficult problem which the expanding plantation enterprise faced."<sup>5</sup> From 1852 on with the financial assistance of the Hawaiian Government laborers were imported into the Territory in more or less of a succession: first Chinese, then South Sea Islanders, Portuguese from the Azores and Madeiras, a few Germans, Japanese, Porto Ricans, Koreans and Spanish. By 1909, with other sources of labor cut off, large-scale importation of Filipinos began. Sugar plantations had by this time increased to a total of 106,000 acres,<sup>6</sup> with a production of 521,000 tons in 1908.<sup>7</sup> Likewise, the number of employees on sugar plantations was almost 47,000 in 1908.<sup>8</sup>

The coming of large numbers of Filipinos from 1909 on had been foreshadowed in 1906 when several hundred Filipinos

<sup>3</sup> The Big Five are Castle and Cooke, Ltd., American Factors, Ltd., C. Brewer and Company, Ltd., Alexander and Baldwin, Ltd., and T. H. Davies and Company, Ltd.

<sup>4</sup> A. L. Dean, *Cooperation in the Sugar Industry in Hawaii* (American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations), New York, 1933. Andrew W. Lind, *An Island Community. Ecological Succession in Hawaii*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1938. See also *Diagram, Interrelation of Business Interests in Hawaii, Exhibit No. 6*. (Richardson Report on Law Enforcement in the Territory of Hawaii, 72nd Congress, 1st Session.) Washington, 1932.

<sup>5</sup> Lind, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-192.

<sup>6</sup> Chauncey B. Wightman, *Agriculture (Sugar)*. (Territorial Planning Board, First Progress Report.) Honolulu, 1939, p. 89.

<sup>7</sup> Lind, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 207.

were first tried out on the plantations in Hawaii. By 1933, 115,000<sup>9</sup> Filipinos had arrived in the Territory, and 60,360 were resident at that time.<sup>10</sup>

In all, some 359,000 laborers had been brought, or had come of their own accord, to Hawaii by 1933.<sup>11</sup> The actual labor force required by the plantations in recent years has been from 40,000 to 50,000. But there has been a high turnover rate.<sup>12</sup> With the continued expansion of business enterprises in Hawaii, laborers have shifted to more remunerative tasks or occupations carrying a higher social prestige than plantation work. Likewise, the increasing opportunities in the United States during the latter part of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth century attracted many of these workers, as is evidenced by the steerage emigration to the United States from Hawaii. Moreover, many of the recruited laborers returned to their homelands at the expiration of a three-year contract period. This has been particularly true of the Chinese and Filipinos.<sup>13</sup>

As a result of these successive waves of immigration, Hawaii, today, is truly the "melting pot" of the Pacific. Only about 6 per cent of its population of approximately 400,000 are native Hawaiians, and another 8 per cent part-Hawaiians. Some 12 per cent of the people in Hawaii are Caucasian—of North European white blood. The great majority of people in the Territory are the descendants of those immigrants who were brought there to develop the sugar and pineapple indus-

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, chart opposite p. 194.

<sup>10</sup> *The Hawaiian Annual*, Honolulu, 1934, p. 19.

<sup>11</sup> Lind, *op. cit.*, chart opposite p. 194.

<sup>12</sup> Lind states: "As recently as 1929, the annual rates of accessions and separations of adult male laborers on Hawaiian sugar plantations were 31.6 and 33.1 respectively—rates which may appear reasonably low as compared with those of industrial establishments but which are unquestionably high for plantation areas." *Ibid.*, p. 202.

<sup>13</sup> Lind makes the following comments on the Filipino group with which this study is concerned: "The total number of Filipino males who returned directly to the Philippines between 1922 and 1930 was 27,676, or a number equal to 37.8 per cent of those who arrived in Hawaii during the same period. A certain proportion have returned to Hawaii a second or third time, but this number is not large enough to affect seriously the ratio." *Ibid.*, p. 206.

tries. The Japanese are the largest single racial group, comprising 38 per cent of the population. The second largest racial group are the Filipinos, making up 17 per cent of the total population, and close to a third of the total male population. The remaining 19 per cent of the population consists of Portuguese, Chinese, Korean, Porto Rican, Spanish, Negro, and an insignificant number of persons of other racial stock.<sup>14</sup>

The Filipino today is the significant worker on the sugar plantations, supplying the bulk of the unskilled labor. Of the 56,700 Filipinos in the Territory at the time of this study (1933-34), three-fourths lived on sugar plantations. The remaining one-fourth worked on pineapple plantations or lived in the city of Honolulu or in the small towns or villages on the different islands.<sup>15</sup>

On the 38 sugar plantations affiliated with the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, 66 per cent of the total male labor force of 48,072 were Filipinos. The only other significant labor element were the Japanese, constituting 21 per cent. The remaining 13 per cent of the workers were Portuguese, Anglo-Saxon, Chinese, Korean, Porto Rican, Spanish, Hawaiian, and a small number of other racial groups.

Women employed on the sugar plantations have been largely Japanese—1,297 out of the total number of 1,552 women employees.<sup>16</sup>

While it is true that Filipinos constitute 66 per cent of the male employees, on the basis of family population in the

<sup>14</sup> *Annual Report of Governor of Hawaii to Secretary of Interior for Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1931*, Honolulu, 1931, p. 45. Based on census data for 1930. Population in 1938 is estimated to be 411,485 according to Territorial Board of Health. Territorial Planning Board, *First Progress Report*, Honolulu, 1939.

<sup>15</sup> Estimated Filipino population for year ending June, 1933, for the Territory was 60,360. (*The Hawaiian Annual*, Honolulu, 1934, p. 19.) The Filipino population on 38 sugar plantations affiliated with the H.S.P.A. in 1933 was 43,182, or 72 per cent of Filipinos in the Territory. Romanzo Adams writes that in 1930, 11 per cent of Filipinos lived in the cities of Honolulu and Hilo. *The Peoples of Hawaii* (Institute of Pacific Relations), Honolulu, 1933, p. 15.

<sup>16</sup> *Annual Report of the Governor of Hawaii to Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1933*. Honolulu, 1933, p. 26.

plantation communities they comprise only 40 per cent because of the small number of Filipino family groups and the predominance of single Filipino males—five males to every female. Out of a total population of 107,297 on 38 sugar plantations, 43,182 were Filipino and 44,015 were Japanese.<sup>17</sup>

*Purpose of the study*

Wages paid unskilled labor on sugar plantations undoubtedly affect those paid unskilled labor in other occupations in the Territory, for it is a common observation of economists that wages in a community tend to a common level in the absence of unionization of workers or other artificial controls. A study of the level of living of the group predominantly occupying the unskilled jobs in the sugar industry should be significant, therefore, in indicating the probable level of living of other unskilled workers' families in the Territory at the date of this study. Moreover, the wages paid unskilled laborers in the sugar industry of Hawaii are of significance in international competition in respect both to sugar and to other commodities.

The present study shows statistically the size of the Filipino family, the amount of income, the nature of expenditures, the extent to which and the means by which the husband's earnings are supplemented by additional income, and how this additional income is used in many homes. It indicates the adequacy of the diet for the maintenance of health, and the amount of illness treated by the plantation medical service. Thus it sets forth what may be regarded as their level or conditions of living.

Although wages paid to Filipino plantation workers are usually based upon the needs of single men, Filipino families, rather than single men, were selected for study to enable better comparisons to be made with other studies being conducted elsewhere in the Pacific and with other groups of laborers on

<sup>17</sup> Unpublished report to Governor Poindexter by the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association.

the mainland of the United States, and also with sugar workers in the Philippines, Cuba, etc. Moreover, the sugar industry in Hawaii cannot for long remain geared to the employment of unmarried laborers. A survey of the living conditions of laborers' families should therefore be of value to those responsible for labor policies in the future.

This study presents, too, in an intimate and factual way the experience of a sample group of immigrant Filipinos in an American setting. It throws light upon, though it makes no claim to explain adequately, the values which are peculiar to the Filipino, and the effect of these values on the family budget.

#### *Interpretation of the data*

Given the data collected in the manner here indicated, there still arises an important problem of interpretation. It emerges from the difference between the economic and social background of Filipinos and the commercial, industrial American system.

A study of the distribution of expenditures of such a group of families as the Filipinos here presented suggests only vaguely their values or standards. Things worth while to them may be conceived in terms which cannot be measured by money expenditures. Prestige attained by a *fiesta* celebrating the birth of a child, or by the possession of a phonograph or a large, framed picture, or the necessity of appeasing *anitos* or spirits cannot be measured as over against comfort derived from beds or chairs. Such values are determined by their traditional culture with its social organization, customary law, and modes of aesthetic expression, and are altered or given up only slowly. These values determine within the limits of the family resources their real income—the food they eat, the clothing they wear, their household furnishings, how they amuse themselves, their *fiestas*, and so on.<sup>18</sup> These non-pecuniary

<sup>18</sup> Hazel Kyrk, *Economic Problems of the Family*. Harper Bros., New York, p. 374.

values are little understood by most Westerners, trained as they are from early days in values that can be reckoned in money. Thus, the fundamental question of what worth the Filipino sets upon money, whether a certain amount is to him meager or fabulous, cannot be indicated statistically.

The distribution of purchasing power at the disposal of any racial group of unskilled laborers' families in Hawaii will vary considerably with differences in their national customs, with the length of time they have lived in Hawaii, and with the extent to which their values have changed through association with other cultural groups. The study in the form presented indicates the extent to which American standards have been taken over by the Filipino families. Some Western commodities have been eagerly accepted by all—for example, the sewing machine and street suits of clothes for men. By contrast, numbers of other goods usually found in American homes have never been adopted in the Filipino home, such as floor lamps, baby carriages, and children's books. Again, some American items were found in only a few homes, such as lip sticks, mirrors, chairs, and refrigerators. The degree of adaptation to the local community, and the adoption of new values is by no means uniform in such a group of immigrant families. Some become "Americanized" quickly, while others hold steadfastly to their own cherished standards and reject more than a minimum of change.

### *Scene of the survey*

The present study is an analysis of information on the level of living of 101 families for one year (1933-34), secured usually from the housewife during the course of visits made every other day for four consecutive weeks. Because of the illiteracy of many of the Filipino women, and their lack of household records, a detailed investigation of a relatively small number of families was made rather than a less intensive study of a larger number.

The families covered in the survey all lived on one plantation. Living conditions on the different sugar plantations vary only in minor details: the perquisites provided are of approximately the same value, and wages paid are likewise fairly uniform.<sup>19</sup> Filipinos, particularly women, are exceedingly suspicious of strangers, a factor to be reckoned with in securing reliable information from them. In order to reduce to a minimum errors which might result from suspicion and distrust on the part of the Filipinos, the study was limited to one plantation on which the director of a special Health Center had won the confidence of the Filipino families. The Health Center prepared infant feedings and had been successfully operating for five years. It was believed that cooperation of this unit would be of great assistance in obtaining the confidence of and facts from the families to be studied, and this was confirmed by experience.

The plantation is one of the largest and most profitable in the Territory. Of the 1,749 full-time workers on its rolls in June, 1934, there were 1,324 classified as unskilled and 213 as skilled. Most of the unskilled workers were Filipino as they constituted 70 per cent, or 929 of this group. On the other hand, only 6 per cent of the skilled workers, or 13 all together, were Filipino.

The plantation houses 4,102 persons. Eight camps or villages are provided for the unskilled workers and four blocks of houses for the skilled workers. The 135 Filipino families on the plantation lived in three villages—Middle Village, Filipino Village, and "B" Village, locally called Banana Camp. Though separate camps are usually provided for Japanese, Portuguese, and Filipinos, "B" Village, approximately three-quarters of a mile from the other two Filipino villages, is also occupied by Japanese families.

<sup>19</sup> Perquisites provided by the sugar plantations include living quarters for single men and houses for families, water, fuel for cooking, and medical care. See Appendix B, pp. 235-7, for a more detailed discussion.

The plantation has a large grammar school, a Catholic church, several Protestant churches, a motion picture theater, club houses for the workers and for the executives, and a playground and baseball field for the unskilled workers. There are tennis courts reserved for skilled Caucasian employees and others for Japanese of various classes. There are several company stores, a number of small independent grocery stores and meat and fish markets. All the Filipino families treated in this study purchased most of their food, clothing, and household supplies from the plantation store on credit. The bill was then deducted from their monthly pay.

### *Method*

Choice of the 101 families was governed by three considerations. First, families with children were selected where possible. Second, the husband must have been employed all the preceding year at unskilled labor. Third, it was necessary that the wife be cooperative. Selection from among the families satisfying these conditions permitted an equitable distribution of cases among the three villages in order that varying environmental influences would be reflected.<sup>20</sup>

The survey began with a meeting to which 30 mothers most cooperative with the Health Center were invited. Seventeen attended and heard the investigation explained by Miss Martha Jones, then Director of the Health Center. During the following three days the 30 families were visited by the writer, accompanied by a Filipino trained nurse who had been

<sup>20</sup> Of the group of 101 families here reported, 10 fail to meet all these qualifications. Six were without children at home, and it developed after the study was underway that the husbands in two families were in fact semi-skilled employees. Since their earnings were no greater than those of many of the unskilled workers, it was decided to include their records. Similarly, after the study was begun, it was discovered that the husband in one family had been ill and laid off for six months of the preceding year. However, his son had been given employment by the plantation during the year, and in addition, the family received 60 per cent of the husband's regular wages as industrial compensation for the accident which caused his illness. In one family the husband was an Ilocano and the wife Portuguese. They were included in the investigation as they lived in one of the Filipino Villages and followed the Filipino mode of living.



released from her duties in the plantation hospital to assist in the survey. Thirty-five additional households were visited during the second four weeks, and 37 during the third four week period. The second and third groups were selected by the writer and the Filipino nurse, with the assistance of the Health Center Director, with a view to securing a sample from each of the three villages occupied by Filipinos. Records for one family were incomplete and were discarded. The year covered in the records for the first 30 families ended July 15, 1934; for the second 35 families, August 15, 1934; and for the third set, September 15, 1934.

Visits were made to the families every other day for four weeks and records were made of all expenditures for food, consumption of food grown in the gardens or collected from other sources or received in gifts, and expenditures made by the families for any other purpose. At the beginning and end of the four weeks of investigation an inventory was taken of all food on hand, and an inventory of household furnishings was made.<sup>21</sup> On a clothing questionnaire, purchases of clothing during the year were entered separately for each member of the family. Expenditures for the year for other items in the budget were likewise tabulated. In addition, information regarding the savings and debts for the year, and the total amount at the time of the investigation, was collected from each family.

The plantation earnings of the husbands and children for the year covered by the study were obtained from the plantation payrolls, together with all deductions made at the plantation office for purchases made on account at the stores, or for goods or services supplied by the plantation at a charge.

All wives and children, with the exception of working sons, were examined by Miss Jones. Height, weight, and condition of the teeth were noted for each person examined. Hospital

<sup>21</sup> The inventory of household furnishings included the date of purchase, purchase price, amount paid during the year, and the balance due.

records for the year of study were secured for all persons in the 101 families receiving hospital care. Dates of admission and discharge, and diagnosis were recorded. Likewise, the clinic records for these families were copied. These gave the diagnosis, number of visits, and treatment, including medicine supplied the patient.

After the expenditure and income figures were totalled, each family was visited at least once in order to eliminate discrepancies in the information. On account of the illiteracy of a large proportion of the women, and the difficulties of language, a 10 per cent allowance was permitted between income and expenditures. Nevertheless, it took three, four, or five visits, in some cases, to bring the differences between income and expenditures within the 10 per cent allowance.

The greatest error appeared to be in the food estimates. Annual expenditure for food was based upon four weeks' records, multiplied by thirteen, in 57 families, allowance being made for guests during the four weeks, for other special occasions, and for fluctuation in amount of food raised in the garden or gathered. In 44 families the four weeks' expenditures were undoubtedly too high to form a basis for the year's record. Non-contract families<sup>22</sup> were not permitted to accumulate bills at the plantation store in excess of expected monthly income; therefore, they had to curtail expenses during slack periods. The study was conducted during the summer months when income was relatively high, and food expenditures were therefore relatively high. Inasmuch as most of the food was purchased from the plantation store or meat market on credit and deducted from the month's wages, it was possible to arrive at an estimate of the annual expenditures for food at the plantation store by deducting from the plantation store accounts all other items reported purchased during the year (such as clothing or tobacco). To this estimate thus obtained of food purchased from the plantation store was

<sup>22</sup> See pp. 49-51 for discussion of contract and non-contract work.

added the amount spent on food purchased from the vegetable wagon, the fish truck, or from other independent stores. In most cases the latter figure was secured from the individual account books in which the vendor or store keeper had recorded the amount of purchases.

"It is a national trait to endeavor to say the thing that will please, and the Filipino is very apt to talk to the desire of his hearer," Forbes wrote in 1928.<sup>23</sup> This trait was frequently encountered in this investigation. In some cases several additional checks were made because of the obvious effort of the housewife to report what she thought the investigators wanted. There was a tendency to overstate expenditures, and this probably accounts to some extent for the excess of expenditures over income for all the families. Lava comments on this trait in his study of the levels of living of Ilocano families. He writes:

'Window dressing' is a common characteristic among Filipinos, and this is accentuated in the masses. The poor people are ashamed to reveal their poverty, hence they are apt to 'invent' expenses and income.<sup>24</sup>

This "window dressing" was most frequently encountered in this study in the case of clothing.

In spite of these difficulties, the data may be considered reasonably reliable. In 42 families the records of expenditures and income were within 5 per cent of one another. In 45 families expenditures and income fell between 5 and 10 per cent of each other, and in 14 families expenditures and income differed by slightly more than 10 per cent.<sup>25</sup> The average of expenditures for all families exceeded the average of incomes by \$26.34. This is only 2.6 per cent of the value of family

<sup>23</sup> William C. Forbes, *The Philippine Islands*, Houghton Mifflin Co., New York, 1928, II, 68.

<sup>24</sup> Horacio Lava, *Levels of Living in the Ilocos Region* (Philippine Council, Institute of Pacific Relations), Manila, 1938, p. 88.

<sup>25</sup> It is probable that the error in the figures occurs either in the estimates of the wife's or children's earnings or in expenditures. The difference between income and expenditures has not been combined with debts or savings.

living, an error which should not seriously affect the validity of the figures.

The material presented in this study may be accepted, therefore, as showing the level of living of one group of laboring families, the Filipino, on the wages for unskilled labor paid on the sugar plantations of Hawaii in 1933-34.

## CHAPTER II

### THE PHILIPPINE BACKGROUNDS

To interpret the facts gathered in this survey some understanding is required of the backgrounds of these plantation workers in the Philippine homeland and of the conditions under which they ventured across the five thousand miles of ocean separating it from Hawaii.

The Commonwealth of the Philippines has a total land area of approximately 114,000 square miles, being larger than Italy and a number of other European nations. The census of 1939 showed a population of nearly sixteen millions. The migrants in Hawaii are drawn from the northern and central portion of Luzon, the main island of the Philippine archipelago, and from the cluster of small islands lying between Luzon and Mindanao, known collectively as the Visayas, particularly from Cebu and Bohol. These districts lie from five to twenty-two degrees north of the equator, whereas Hawaii is from nineteen to twenty-two degrees north. The climate is more tropical and humid than in Hawaii, especially on the heavily populated coastal plains whence the immigrants have come, but no extreme adjustment is required. The Filipinos may be regarded as well adapted to manual work in the new setting.

As with the bulk of the Philippine population, the peasants from these districts represent a blend of many racial elements, but are dominantly Malayan, linked in blood with the peoples

of the neighboring Asiatic mainland and of the Netherlands Indies. They are brown-skinned folk, usually of short, slender build, with dark hair, straight or wavy, but as with all very mixed peoples there is a great variety of types.<sup>1</sup> Given favorable social conditions the descendants of those who decide to remain in Hawaii should blend readily into its racial *mélange*.

There is a rich diversity of culture from district to district in the Philippines,<sup>2</sup> but all the Christianized peoples of the lowlands who represent nine-tenths of the population<sup>3</sup> have had their original Indo-Malayan patterns of life overlaid by western influences during more than three hundred years of Spanish rule, and for over four decades of American control. The Roman Catholic Church in the earlier periods grafted mediaeval Christianity onto Malayan beliefs and customs, so that in the Filipino mental world supernatural phenomena are as real as are the things of nature. Filipino dress, folk arts, and music represent a blended Malayan-Spanish heritage. More recently American education has nourished the growth of democratic ideas and ways. The backgrounds therefore of the families in Hawaii are in folk cultures comparable with those of rural Mexico.

There is no common Filipino language. The 87 or so dialects of the Philippine Islands, though of common linguistic stock, cannot be understood by the different dialect groups.

<sup>1</sup> "Dr. H. Otley Beyer . . . has estimated that the proportions of different racial strains now represented in the Filipinos are about as follows: Negrito and Proto-Malay, 10 per cent; Indonesian, 30 per cent; Malayan, 40 per cent; Chinese, 10 per cent; Hindu, 5 per cent; European and American, 3 per cent; and Arab, 2 per cent. The Japanese and Mexican strains comprise small fractions." Quoted from Felix M. Keesing, *The Philippines: A Nation in the Making*. Shanghai, 1937, p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> For cultural life of the Philippines references include: Keesing, *op. cit.*, David P. Barrows, *History of the Philippines*, World Book Co., New York, revised edition, 1926; Alfred L. Kroeber, *Peoples of the Philippines*, American Museum Press, New York, 2nd edition, 1928; Gregorie F. Zaide, *Early Philippine History and Culture*, Manila, 1937.

<sup>3</sup> Pagan peoples of the hills and jungles, and Mohammedanized peoples in the southern islands together form the remaining tenth; none of these has migrated to Hawaii.

English or Spanish is used officially as common medium, and most Filipinos, whatever their own local dialects may be, can speak one or more of a number of widely used Filipino dialects. Most important of these are Tagalog, the language of the Manila region, Ilocano in the north, and the two Visayan dialects, that of Cebu and Bohol, and that of Panay.<sup>4</sup> The Filipino laborers dealt with in this study speak Ilocano or one of the Visayan dialects.

*Economic conditions.* "Crowds and empty spaces" is an apt phrase used to describe Philippine land settlement. The islands are densely populated in some districts, with 400 to 640 persons to the square mile, yet nearly a third of the cultivable land remains unsettled. A main reason is that those in dire enough need to be willing to leave friends and relatives and their familiar locale are the least able to finance and organize pioneering, or to face the dangers, real and imaginary, which it involves.<sup>5</sup> Such folk found a solution to their problems in the labor recruiter. The Filipinos in the present study have come from the two areas of greatest overcrowding—the Ilocos Coast and the Visayan districts. These have been described as follows by Field:

The cultivable area of the Ilocos Coast is a narrow strip of lowland between the sea and the high mountain range which runs through the center of the island of Luzon. The population is so heavy that the average landholdings are the smallest in size in the Philippines, in the worse districts, Ilocos Norte for example, being one-half hectare or about one and a quarter acres. To make matters worse, owing to a very definite dry season and an equally well marked period of rainfall, the former including the winter and spring months, the latter the summer and autumn, only one crop can be produced a year. The

<sup>4</sup> See Trinidad A. Rojo, *The Language Problem in the Philippines* (The Philippine Research Bureau), New York, Manila, 1937; Zaide, *op. cit.*, p. 42; Dean C. Worcester, *The Philippines, Past and Present*, Macmillan Co., New York, 1921, p. 935.

<sup>5</sup> See Keesing, *op. cit.*, Ch. VIII; Cornelio C. Cruz, *Philippine Demography from the Geographic Point of View* (University of the Philippines), Manila, 1933, p. 3. Horacio Lava, *op. cit.*, p. 8, gives a density of 650 per square mile in the Ilocos Sur, 224 per square mile in Ilocos Norte, and 66 to the square mile in Abra.

conditions in Iloilo are less serious than on the Ilocos Coast, Cebu and Bohol largely because of substantial rice and sugar crops and good means of transportation. Cebu, however, consisting of a poor rocky soil and being subject to an annual dry season and frequent droughts, makes that island a very poor region for habitation. The conditions in Bohol are similar, although the soil could be cultivated profitably more easily than that of Cebu if irrigation systems were introduced.<sup>6</sup>

The Philippines are an agricultural country with the great majority of the population dependent upon the soil for their livelihood.<sup>7</sup> Rice is the staple crop and the staff of life of the Filipinos in most districts, and it leads in the production and acreage of all crops. Undoubtedly most of the migrants to Hawaii were formerly rice farmers. Other crops in order of acreage, are coconut, corn, abaca, sugar cane, and tobacco.<sup>8</sup>

Many Filipinos especially on the pioneer belts are peasant proprietors or small independent farmers working their own lands. The majority however have insufficient land for their needs and so work wholly or in part as tenants or laborers on the estates of landlord families or *caciques*, who form the most powerful and influential class in the Philippines. In the more densely populated regions most of the cultivable land tends to be owned by a relatively few such wealthy families. This Philippine feudalism sometimes called "caciquism" developed out of the recognition granted by the Spanish to the Filipino chiefs or *datos*, and out of the exorbitant interest rates traditional in the Philippines which have made more and more wealth (hence land) accrue to the cacique class. At its best the relationship between the educated cacique and his more or less illiterate tenant is paternal. Frequently, however,

<sup>6</sup> Frederick V. Field and Elizabeth Brown Field, "Philippine Inter-Island Migration," in Bruno Lasker, *Filipino Immigration to Continental United States and to Hawaii*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1931, p. 397.

<sup>7</sup> Keesing, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

<sup>8</sup> Cruz, *op. cit.*, p. 16.



especially as absentee landlordism developed, cacique families have shed their responsibilities and abused their power, while the common people, their tenants, have become more and more impoverished.<sup>9</sup>

The peasant proprietors who cultivate in all about forty-five per cent of the land<sup>10</sup> enjoy greater security and a larger income than any other tillers of the soil in the Islands, for they obtain the total crop from the land they work. But their holdings are small, often not more than one plot of about a hectare (two and one-half acres). If he owns more they are usually separated by several kilometers, so that he loses much time in going to and from his different fields.<sup>11</sup> The returns on his efforts are small because of the poor soil and crude implements, and his annual income is, according to Miller, not more than 500 pesos, averaging about 250 pesos (\$125).<sup>12</sup> If an emergency occurs in the family, or there is a crop failure, the peasant farmer must borrow from the *cacique* of the district at usurious rates on his loan. But he has property with which to protect his creditors, and the rate of interest is lower than that for the tenants and laborers. Moreover, he has greater prospect of becoming clear of his debt.<sup>13</sup> But many tenants were once independent farmers who found it necessary

<sup>9</sup> See Lasker, *op. cit.*, pp. 416-417.

<sup>10</sup> Hugo H. Miller, *Economic Conditions in the Philippines*, Ginn & Co., New York, 1929, p. 256.

<sup>11</sup> Miller states that in Ilocos Norte and parts of Ilocos Sur ninety per cent of the tillers of the soil own land. Yet eighty per cent of the land is worked on the share system because of the practice of leasing the more distant plots and becoming tenants on more conveniently located plots. *Ibid.*, p. 256. On the other hand, Lava found in his survey of 93 families in the Ilocos region only 40 who owned farms, the average value of which was 902 pesos, and the median value 400 pesos to 600 pesos. The author assumes a hectare has a value of around 800 pesos. Thus the holdings were around one hectare in size. *Op. cit.*, p. 59. A peso is worth approximately fifty cents in American money.

<sup>12</sup> Lava found the yearly value of living of 93 Ilocano farmers, including 40 proprietors and 53 tenants, to be 280 pesos (about \$140). Of this amount, one-third was in kind and two-thirds in money. This includes about 22 pesos in savings. *Ibid.*, p. 86.

<sup>13</sup> Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

to borrow from the *cacique*, and unable to repay the loan, came under his power and lost their title to the land.

The income of the peasant proprietor or of the tenant (*tao* or common man) is seldom wholly derived from agriculture. During the off-season he may find employment on a neighboring hacienda, harvesting sugar, stripping abaca, or working in the coconut groves, or he may be a porter, carpenter, driver, fisherman, lumberman, or wandering merchant. Often the women of the household increase the family income by keeping small shops, by weaving cloths, hats, mats, baskets, slippers and the like, or by making pottery, embroidery and other products in the home.<sup>14</sup> This additional income is essential, for the small farms do not produce even all the rice consumed by the families during the year.<sup>15</sup>

The *tao* or common man who works on land of others is poverty stricken, debt ridden, and often reduced to a position not far from slavery. He receives but a share of the crop he produces, the balance belonging to the landlord and to the owner of the *carabao* (water buffalo), if the landlord has not supplied it. The apportionment is usually on the basis of one-third to each party. The share of the crop belonging to the tenant is so small that after the harvest hardly anything is left for his family's living expenses for the rest of the year. Moreover, the loan contracted during the previous year must be paid. And so the tenant borrows money and rice again from the rich landlord at rates of interest which keep him in a never-ending peonage or servitude.

Under such conditions the ownership of land becomes the driving goal. Lava comments: "Property becomes of such social importance that the Ilocano peasant will enslave himself merely to own land."<sup>16</sup> For the ownership of land brings

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 247-248.

<sup>15</sup> Lava found that the farm supplied only about a third of the rice consumed by the 93 Ilocano families he studied. *Op. cit.*, p. 55.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 86.

with it freedom from the control of the landlord, and a larger, more adequate income.<sup>17</sup>

On the plains south of the Ilocos coast and in parts of the Visayan Islands are the most important sugar plantations of the Philippines. What proportion of the families studied in Hawaii had worked on these was not ascertained, but as they might have done so, it is valid to use them as a background against which to present Hawaiian conditions. I. T. Runes of the University of the Philippines<sup>18</sup> paints a rather grim picture of these "haciendas".

During the off-milling season of seven months employment of workers who live on the haciendas is very irregular, amounting to not more than two or three days' work a week. Even during the milling season employment is more or less irregular. Daily earnings during the slack period amount to about one-fourth of the maximum earnings during the milling season. Earnings are so low during these months that the families have barely enough on which to subsist. There is food for only one or two meals a day. Many of the women and children also work in the fields applying fertilizer, weeding, and planting the sugar cane seedlings. During the slack period the women engage in weaving, washing clothes, making clothes, embroidery, etc., and the men work in outside

<sup>17</sup> Lava summarizes his findings in his survey of 93 Ilocano families as follows: ". . . The rural worker in the Ilocos lives far below the subsistence level. The farm he cultivates, having an average size of less than half a hectare, is not sufficient to produce even the rice that his family consumes during the year. His productive equipment, consisting of a cow or carabao, a plow, a harrow, and a sled, is crude and must, therefore, result in very low production per unit of human labor. No matter how hard he drives himself and his family—and the Ilocano is famous as a hard worker—the income he can derive from such meagre productive equipment must of necessity be slight.

"Hence, we find the houses bare of civilized ornament, of trimmings—bare even of the ordinary comforts of tables and soft chairs.

"Thus we find even his food inadequate in food values, lacking in variety and spice." *Ibid.*, p. 67.

<sup>18</sup> I. T. Runes, *General Standards of Living and Wages of Workers in the Philippine Sugar Industry*. (Philippine Council, Institute of Pacific Relations.) Manila, 1939, pp. 19-28. Provinces covered were Occidental Negros, Iloilo, Laguna, Pampanga, and Tarlac.

occupations, cultivation of rice lands belonging to the hacendero, fishing, road construction work, and the like.

The hours of work in the cane fields are long. On most of the haciendas the laborers work 10 or 11 hours a day during the off-season, and 12 to 16 during the milling season.

Family incomes of the 172 families studied by Runes ranged from 97 to 297 pesos, with the majority of families earning between 180 to 200 pesos a year.<sup>19</sup> Approximately four-fifths of this income came from the sugar plantation earnings, and the remaining fifth from outside jobs.

Among the difficulties of the peasant farmer and plantation laborer in the Philippines must be included, as has been seen, the fact that seasonal unemployment is far-reaching in extent and brings periods of increased deprivation. Two of the staple products, rice and sugar, require only seasonal work. Rice cultivation covers a period of about five months and double crops are harvested to a limited extent only in certain irrigated regions. In sugar cultivation there are three or four months of enforced idleness before harvest time comes, though additional labor is required during the milling season, giving valuable employment to the peasant farmers and tenants of the surrounding country.<sup>20</sup>

*Social system.* Although most of the people in the Philippines till the soil, they are not scattered in individual homesteads as with agricultural workers in the United States, but instead live in close set villages (barrios) and go each day to their work in their fields, frequently a considerable distance away. In Spanish days the peasants in the accessible lowlands were forced to give up their scattered hamlets where little groups of kinsfolk lived together close to their fields. They

<sup>19</sup> Incomes include only cash incomes, or credit received at the plantation store for such items as rice, corn, dried fish, tobacco, clothes, etc., and later deducted from the earnings. It does not include a value on the living quarters, or produce raised or gathered or received in gifts.

<sup>20</sup> Ramon Torres, *The Philippine Labor Situation*. (Philippine Council, Institute of Pacific Relations.) Manila, 1938, pp. 3-4.

were concentrated into barrios for greater ease of administration, missionizing, and policing. This community system has become traditional and has developed a very rich social life such as rural folk in many countries lack. The plaza, the church, the market place, house to house visiting, fiestas and processions, games, music and dancing are dear to the Filipino heart and compensate somewhat for depressing economic conditions. The following is an excellent description of the Philippine village:

The basic unit is the *barrio*, a village which may have only ten or fifteen houses or as many as a hundred or more. If you drive along a provincial road you notice the continuous alternation of a stretch of fields, a tiny village, again fields, and another village.

While technically a *barrio* is a political subdivision of a provincial township, sometimes in turn divided into smaller villages, colloquially the term is applied to all the villages in a province except the two or three larger towns. One might use any small town in the Ilocos provinces as an illustration. Such a town would have a post office, a market—usually a plot in the center of town protected by a roof,—one or two small retail stores, a large church now fallen into disrepair, a house or small buildings given over to municipal affairs, one or two simple school buildings, perhaps a small farm school with a household economics building or department, and the surrounding houses.

The houses are close together, interspersed with a few banana and papaya trees and occasionally a small garden. They stand high above the ground on wooden posts, leaving space below for rambling pigs and chickens, consist of one or two or even three rooms and sometimes an open porch. The sides and roof are made of bamboo or nipa thatch, and the floors of slender split bamboos, laid side by side. This type of house is found throughout the Islands. It is cheaply built, easily repaired, and serves admirably to keep out sun and rain. In the larger towns, especially those which have sent successful emigrants abroad, there is an increasing number of wooden houses with concrete foundations and galvanized iron roofs, built by the more prosperous members of the community.

The grouping of houses in *barrios*, however small, is no mere result of immediate or chance circumstances. Economic conditions alone do not demand it. Land is privately owned and is often far away from the village, and if a man owns more than one small parcel, his holdings may be far distant from each other. Not more than

twenty-five years ago, it was a common necessity for people to band together for protection. As yet without specialization and division of labor, without education and wider knowledge, the small local units were held together by bonds of religion, language, and customs.

In such relatively isolated and self-sufficient communities, a strong traditional social organization has developed which starts with the family, encompasses immediate relatives and neighbors, and is bounded by the village. The whole is sustained by dependence and obligation, and bound together by the degree of experience and development of the particular community.<sup>21</sup>

The women of the Philippines occupy a unique place in the economic and social structure of the country, participating freely in industrial and religious, and even political activities, although they do not have the vote. This is a result partly of the old Malayan heritage of near-equality with men, and partly of modern values and opportunities. Spanish culture, together with the ideals of the Catholic Church, placed women in a high position while yet limiting their rights, and fostered patterns of behavior that called for chivalry on the part of men and modesty and humility on the part of women. In the American period full scope has been given for education and participation in political and economic movements.<sup>22</sup>

Of the Filipino woman, W. Cameron Forbes writes:

The Christian Filipino woman . . . is usually the business manager of the household, keeps the keys, does the providing, receives all cash earned by any member of the family, including the proceeds from the farm produce, and supervises the expenditure. It is she who makes the budget. A man who fails to turn in his receipts for his wife's direction somewhat injures his standing in the community.<sup>23</sup>

In addition to managing the family income, doing the marketing, and running the household, the Filipino women help in the planting and harvesting and carry on many

<sup>21</sup> Frederick F. Field and Elizabeth Brown Field, "The Village Community," in Lasker; *op. cit.*, pp. 418-419.

<sup>22</sup> Encarnacion Alzona, *The Social and Economic Status of Filipino Women, 1565-1932*. (Institute of Pacific Relations.) Manila, 1933.

<sup>23</sup> W. Cameron Forbes, *The Philippine Islands*. Houghton, Mifflin Co., New York, 1928, I, 17.

household industries, as noted above. Forbes comments that the Filipino women are more numerous than men in retail trade, and are important factors as local jobbers in agricultural produce and Philippine textiles. They compete with men in the professions and are taking an increasingly important part in political activities.<sup>24</sup>

As among other oriental peoples, kinship family ties are very strong among the Filipinos. This dependence applies not only to parents and children, but to aunts and uncles and cousins as well.<sup>25</sup> The individual household is really a sub-unit of a larger kin-group. Forbes makes the following relevant comment:

The family life of the Filipino is generally happy. There are usually several children and frequently aged and other dependent relatives, all of whom are welcomed members of the household. The development and education of the children soon come to be the absorbing interest of the older members of the family, who as a rule make whatever sacrifices may seem necessary. The parents are apt to err through undue generosity, but are usually recompensed in later years by filial affection and care. It is rare to see a homeless aged or crippled person. Those without near relatives are taken into the homes of acquaintances among the more affluent members of the community or receive aid otherwise from private persons.<sup>26</sup>

Many of the difficulties of Filipinos in Hawaii arise from the fact that they are uprooted from such family groupings and so have a drastically changed social life. They lack not only women of their own generation, but also older members of the family who at home would have assumed much of the responsibility and have exerted very strong influence on their ideas and activities.<sup>27</sup>

*Group cooperation.* It is customary for Filipino families and fellow villagers to work together at many tasks. The

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>25</sup> Field and Field, *op. cit.*, p. 420.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>27</sup> See Field and Field, "Family Organizations and the Position of Women," in Lasker, *op. cit.*, p. 420.

following quotation from Miller indicates the range and importance of such group activity:

In the Philippines labor in common is often put on a permanent basis of reciprocity into which the elements of lottery, insurance, and banking enter. The most common form is in connection with many of the village economic activities, such as making *kaingin* (temporary clearings), plowing, planting, harvesting, threshing, and husking; building houses; making hats; in fact, doing any work which the member whose turn it is wants done. The "*turnuhans*," for such we shall call them, are not regular associations with formal rules and regulations. They are simply spontaneous associations of persons with a common aim to help each other, and different places have different practices in regard to details . . . .

Another common form of group labor in the Philippines is in connection with social activities, as distinguished from the economic activities mentioned above. These activities partake of the nature of mutual insurance in the help rendered the members of the community. Help is given at baptisms, weddings, and burials. In the case of funerals the work involved is the making of the coffin and the preparation of the food for the friends . . . .

The courtship of a woman is frequently the cause of many forms of group labor, and the activity that results therefrom may be classed as economic. A group of young men may decide to help the woman husking rice. Here we have the beginning of a socializing activity, for usually the person helped prepares something to eat, and everybody has a merry time, especially when there are music and singing to keep time with the pounding.

An interesting form of group labor in connection with either death or marriage is that performed by young men. If any member dies or marries, the others contribute a sum of money previously agreed on. Besides the money, they give commodities, such as wood for fuel, and render service at the feast, such as getting water and waiting on the table.

Still another form of group labor in the village is the banding together for protection against fire and robbers. This was common during the Spanish administration; it is still found in its original form in many towns.<sup>28</sup>

This group cooperation, so common in the Philippines, has

<sup>28</sup> Miller, *op. cit.*, pp. 279-282.



been carried over to life in Hawaii. There is little opportunity in Hawaii for group activity in connection with their plantation employment. But the same cooperation of a group occurs in the case of a christening, a marriage or death, or the celebration of the saint's day, that is found in the Philippines, although certain variations have developed in Hawaii because of the abnormal social situation with its large proportion of single men and small number of families.

*Characteristics of the Filipinos.* Characterizations of a nation of people are always of doubtful value, and more especially so with a nation comprised of such varied ethnic and cultural groups as are the Filipinos. The so-called "Pagan" peoples, the Mohammedanized tribes and the Christian groups have few widespread character traits in common. Yet historical development and social and economic circumstances have produced among the Christian Filipinos certain traits of mind and personality which have come to be regarded as characteristic. Most noted by western observers, applying of course their own evaluations by modern western standards, are "immaturity," "inability to take a responsible attitude towards financial obligations to others," and "impulsiveness." Filipinos are said to be "very emotional and romantic," "fond of bright colors and of display," "intrigued by mysticism and mystery," "superstitious, with a firm belief in witches, charms and spirits (anitos), good and bad," "suspicious," but "loyal where confidence is gained," "hospitable," "with strong family bonds," "patient in adversity," "respectful of authority so long as their passions are not roused."<sup>29</sup>

Such traits of the Christian Filipinos may according to Keesing be explained from a sociological and cultural standpoint.

<sup>29</sup> See Lasker, *op. cit.*, p. 336; Worcester, *op. cit.*, p. 951; S. D. Porteus and Marjorie E. Babcock, *Temperament and Race*, Richard S. Badger, Boston, 1926, pp. 58-67; Keesing, *op. cit.*, p. 42; Robert W. Hart, *The Philippines Today*, Dodd, Mead & Co., New York, 1928, pp. 139-150.

Indolence, freedom from care, simple mindedness and credulity reflect the economic and educational policies of Spain. Assertiveness, vanity, love of bright colors, exaggerated romanticism or mysticism represent means of emotional escape amid hard circumstances. Such traits are not, as some observers have stated, an inevitable part of Filipino makeup. Rather, they can be explained in terms of history. The pagan Filipino does not show them in any marked degree, nor does the educated Filipino who has had under American wardship the opportunities which the Spaniards denied.<sup>30</sup>

Of some significance for this study are certain local characteristics that have developed among the different geographic and ethnic groups whence migrants have come to Hawaii. The Tagalogs are the most sophisticated and literate of the Philippine peoples because Manila, the capital, chanced to be set centrally in their ethnic area. They have had the longest and deepest contact with foreign and urban ideas. The peasant Tagalogs, however, along with the Visayans from further south, are usually counted as unaggressive, happy-go-lucky, rooted in the rural life, and not particularly concerned with the values of long-range planning and thrift, and of the individualism so valued in the commercial setting of modernity. They tend to find the discipline of clock and calendar and routine labor under the directions of others irksome and unappealing.

The Ilocanos, by contrast, come from a confined and relatively inhospitable geographic setting along the northwest Luzon coast in which the struggle for existence has produced a far more aggressive, thrifty, and disciplined attitude. The Ilocano is often called the Scot or Jew of the Philippines. More than any other group these people have been willing to uproot to pioneer new areas, and to venture beyond the Philippines. They have come under such economic discipline that they submit readily to drudgery and monotonous labor

<sup>30</sup> Keesing, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

under direction, and hence make a "docile" and dependable labor force.<sup>31</sup>

The peoples of the different dialect groups tend to view each other with a certain amount of suspicion and dislike. This attitude is due in part to the lack of any common medium of communication, and in part to attitudes handed down from the days when they were locally distinct and actively hostile. A tendency of the Tagalogs and the Ilocanos to impose their will upon the others today also causes resentment; likewise industrial competition, especially of Ilocano laborers who accept lower wages than other groups, breeds ill feeling.<sup>32</sup>

These antagonisms carry over to some extent in Hawaii. Feeling exists, for example, between Visayans and Ilocanos on the plantations, although conditions are such as to encourage an increasing cooperation and even intermarriage.<sup>33</sup> Cariaga, a Filipino student of anthropology in Hawaii, writes:

The Ilocanos especially tend to keep apart, and being now overwhelmingly in the majority among Filipinos in Hawaii, and having a larger number of their own group in nearly every camp on the plantations, their exclusiveness is fostered. The inability of most of them to speak English or the other dialects likewise limits their social intercourse with the other groups. On the other hand, since few Ilocano women have come to the Territory, and daughters of the rare Ilocano families are still children for the most part, Ilocanos contemplating marriage are obliged to seek the society of the Visayan Filipinas (women) and a number of these 'exogamic' unions have taken place.<sup>34</sup>

Thus we see the life of the peasant in the Philippines is one of poverty, with an unbalanced and at times a starvation diet; often one of hard work with very small returns on the effort

<sup>31</sup> See Hermenegildo Cruz, *Labor*. (Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor.) Manila, 1926, pp. 18-19. Lasker, *op. cit.*, p. 262. General references on cultural conditions, footnote 2, p. 18.

<sup>32</sup> Worcester, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-137.

<sup>33</sup> In the 1924 strike of plantation Filipino workers the Visayans cooperated sympathetically with the labor leader who was a Tagalog; Ilocanos were brought in as strike breakers. From Roman R. Cariaga, *Filipinos on an Hawaiian Sugar Plantation, a Background Study*, Honolulu, 1936, an unpublished manuscript.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

expended. In the mild climate, however, needs are simple and slack periods allow for gay and sociable leisure hours. There is domination by the *cacique* or large landowner, sickness with little or no medical care, and the burden of almost insurmountable debts. On the other hand others are in the same box, and so long as family and friends are well economic cares sit lightly. The church and local lore have magical formulas to deal with sickness, ill-luck, and other evil spirit forces. It is a life of large family groups with authority vested in the elders; of colorful fiestas celebrating such events as the birth of a child or a saint's day; of suspicion and antagonism towards other dialect groups; and of a driving desire to become the owner of even one small plot of land. It represents a very meager living, but this is partially compensated for by the Filipino's sociability and participation in group activities. Other aspects of the Philippine background will emerge in the course of the study where they are particularly significant for interpreting or evaluating conditions in Hawaii.

### CHAPTER III

#### THE MIGRATING FAMILIES—AN ANALYSIS

Migration is as old as Filipino civilization itself; for the Philippine Archipelago was settled by successive waves of peoples from Southeastern Asia, India, Java, Sumatra, Borneo, China, Spain and other European countries, and lastly from the American Continent.<sup>1</sup> Bruno Lasker writes:

Migration is nothing new in the life of the Filipinos—especially the Ilocanos. Their racial history, their climate, the topography and natural resources of the archipelago, and those culture traditions that arise from the conjunction of these major influences, have kept the people mobile, courageous in the face of danger and hardship, always looking beyond the horizon of their immediate environment for fresh opportunities.<sup>2</sup>

Beginning in 1909, Filipino emigration became a movement of major importance in the life of the Philippine nation. The first period of Filipino recruiting by the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, 1909-1914, was limited by the Philippine Government to the Visayan provinces of Cebu, Iloilo, Bohol, Oriental Negros, Capiz, and Leyte. During the World War this was extended to the northern provinces of Ilocos Norte, Ilocos Sur, Pangasinan, La Union, Tarlac, and Abra.<sup>3</sup> From

<sup>1</sup> See Felix M. Keesing, *op. cit.*, Chapter 3, "A People in the Making." See also David P. Barrows, *op. cit.*, Chapter I, "The Peoples of the Philippines."

<sup>2</sup> Bruno Lasker, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

<sup>3</sup> Serafin E. Macaraig, *Community Problems, An Elementary Study of Philippine Social Conditions*, Manila, 1933, p. 62.

1909 to 1926 it was the policy of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association to pay the passage for all Filipinos that came in under their auspices, and after 1915, to provide free return transportation to any worker and his family who desired it, if he had fulfilled a contract of three years' employment on a sugar plantation.<sup>4</sup>

In 1926 the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association discontinued the policy of paying passage to the Islands, but continued supervising immigration. Since then laborers coming into the Territory have done so at their own expense, although they still receive free passage back for themselves and their families if they remain three years on a sugar plantation.<sup>5</sup> The depression brought its curtailment of sugar production, so that in 1931 the Hawaiian Sugar Planters'

<sup>4</sup> The labor agreement accepted in 1915 by the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association and the Philippine Government, included the following:

- "1. Free transportation for the laborer and his family from his house in Manila;
2. Free board and lodging during his stay in Manila;
3. Free transportation from Manila to Honolulu and to the plantation where he may be assigned;
4. Bonus of ten pesos to every unmarried laborer and twenty pesos to a married laborer who goes with his family;
5. Clothing given free for the trip for all members of the family;
6. Free house, water, and fuel during his stay in the plantation and while the contract is in force; and
7. Free return transportation given to the laborer if he has worked 720 days during three consecutive years."

(Hermenegildo Cruz, *op. cit.*, p. 22.)

If a laborer has completed a three-year labor contract with a plantation he and his family are given free passage home by the company for which he worked. If a laborer has worked one year each for three different plantations, his time is computed and his fare divided among these plantations. If he is dismissed, or works outside the plantation before completing his contract, he loses this privilege.

According to Hermenegildo Cruz, then director of the Bureau of Labor of the Philippine Government, it cost the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association nearly \$200 for every Filipino laborer brought to Honolulu from his recruiting point in the Philippines. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>5</sup> Passage fares from Manila to Honolulu are \$84.50 plus \$5 tax for adults, and \$42.25 plus \$3 tax for each child 1 to 12 years of age, and \$8.45 plus \$1 tax for each infant under 1 year. The number that arrived from the Philippines between 1926 and 1933, inclusive, and paid their own transportation fares was 49,422. Figures on arrivals are from an unpublished report to Governor Poindexter by the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, prepared by Richard A. Cooke, Honolulu, 1934.

Association tried to stop further immigration into the Islands.<sup>6</sup> In March, 1934, the Tydings-McDuffie Philippine Independence Act was passed by the United States Congress. This limits immigration from the Philippines to 50 persons a year for Hawaii and Continental United States, with the provision, however, that if a labor shortage exists in the Territory, Hawaii may, with the permission of the Secretary of the Interior, utilize the Philippines as a source of labor.<sup>7</sup>

The Filipinos have migrated to Continental United States and elsewhere as well as to Hawaii. In 1933 Professor Macaraig of the University of the Philippines wrote:

There are more Filipinos abroad than the number given in the estimate of Professor Beyer in 1916. [This was 200,000.] About 100,000 of them are in continental United States and in the Hawaiian Islands.<sup>8</sup>

In summarizing the causes of Filipino emigration Mr. Lasker writes:

In the totality of motivations found for Filipino emigration at the present time, economic causes outweigh social ones. Two trends have contributed to their rapidly accumulating force: the re-direction of an existing migration movement from intra-island and inter-island to foreign destinations, and the acceleration of a movement to Hawaii and the mainland of the United States by the reports of success and by propaganda. At first indefinite as to aim and limited to the more adventurous groups and types, the movement has assumed more definite objectives and affected increasing numbers of staid and conservative groups. There is no uniform population pressure as in other migration movements in the past, local and seasonal pressures suffice to impel fairly large exodus.

<sup>6</sup> During the period 1931 to 1933 only 1,212 Filipinos came to the Territory from the Philippine Islands, of whom 524 came under the auspices of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association. These have been largely wives and children of plantation employees and men who went home on leave of absence. During these years 12,264 Filipinos left the Territory. *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> "Tydings-McDuffie Philippine Independence Act." U. S. Statutes at Large. Volume 48. (73rd Congress.) 1934, pp. 456-465.

<sup>8</sup> Macaraig, *op. cit.*, p. 61. This agrees with the estimates of Bruno Lasker who states that within the last quarter of a century well over 150,000 Filipinos had left from all parts of the Philippines for Hawaii and the United States and 45,000 had returned. *Op. cit.*, p. 219.

In other ways also, the causation of Filipino emigration shares many elements with that of other emigration movements that have helped to populate the American continent and Hawaii: the desire for larger earnings and a higher standard of living; the attractions of countries with a more developed form of civilization; escape from hampering social restrictions; on the other hand, the strength of family ties which induces men to undergo hardship to assist the family fortunes. But it has some features which are unique: the efficiency with which the movement to Hawaii has been guided and controlled; the sense of a right to take part in all the advantages afforded by American sovereignty; the prestige conferred by higher education in the social scale of values.

Among the stimuli which have further developed this movement we can also distinguish features common to previous waves of migration to the United States from those which are particular to this instance. Among the former: the role played by steamship companies in working up traffic; the diffusion of exaggerated information on existing opportunities; the success stories of early pioneer-migrants and of returned travellers; the actual evidence of money orders and savings brought back. Among the latter: the total impact of a generation of American influences on the government of the Islands; more particularly the Americanizing effect of the public schools. Among predisposing cultural factors we can distinguish the relative conservatism of social institutions still largely under the influence of centuries of Spanish rule, compared with the reported liberalism of social relations in America.<sup>9</sup>

During the course of conversation (usually through an interpreter) with the parents and children covered in this survey, certain attitudes toward Hawaii became evident. Reasons given for desiring to remain permanently in Hawaii, or for wishing to return home were not tabulated and cannot be weighed according to importance. They are given merely as views noted by the writer. They are the opinions, however, of the more articulate or educated group, and may not represent those of families less able to express themselves.

The superior opportunity for education in Hawaii as compared to the Philippine Islands was a decisive factor with some

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 325-326.



for remaining in Hawaii.<sup>10</sup> Some intend to remain in the Territory because their children wish it. One family which had lived in the Territory several years returned to the Philippine Islands in 1930 with \$300. They stayed only one year as the children "wanted to come home again". Some women expressed preference for Hawaii on the ground that life there was not so difficult for them. There they may stay at home and care for their children, and if there is remunerative work it may be done in the home; whereas in the Philippines they help in the fields, pound rice, and weave cloth. The superior medical care in Hawaii to that in their home province appeared to be the impelling motive for some. One mother stated she hoped never to go back for she feared her children would not live there.<sup>11</sup> Some mothers expressed the opinion that their sons have brighter futures in Hawaii working on the sugar plantations than in agricultural work in the Philippines.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Keesing quotes official figures showing that in the Philippines during 1935, because of the scattered nature of the population, the conservatism of many rural families, and the limitations of finance, more than 60 per cent of the children were not in school. *Op. cit.*, p. 45. Lava states that in 1934 in Ilocos Sur, and five provinces of Central Luzon, not more than 30 per cent of the children of school age were able to go to school. The remaining 70 per cent were helping in farm or household work. *Op. cit.*, p. 57.

<sup>11</sup> There is some foundation for this concern, for the infant death rate for the year 1933 on the plantation studied was only 47.6 per 1000 life births. From Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, *Research Health Project: Report of Dietary Observations Carried on at Ewa Plantation, 1932-1933*. (Bulletin No. 1.) Honolulu, 1934, p. 11. In the Philippines exact statistics on infant mortality rates are unobtainable, but would certainly be much higher.

<sup>12</sup> An article in one of the main newspapers of Hawaii, on why the Filipinos return to Hawaii a second time, although emphasizing only one side of the picture, probably represents the attitude of many Filipinos. It gives the following reasons, based upon statements of Filipinos recently returned from visits to the Philippines:

1. Because their standard of living here is higher than anything they could ever hope for in their homeland, and because they are treated here on a par with persons of all other racial groups.

2. Because they have steady, year round employment in pleasant surroundings, with free houses, fuel, medical service, hospitalization and recreation facilities.

3. Because their children have, in addition to a congenial home life, the advantages of a splendid system of free education.

Other families expect to return to the Philippine Islands after certain conditions have been fulfilled. In most cases this consists of saving or investing a certain sum of money which will mark them as "successful" in the eyes of their fellows at home, usually around \$500, although many have returned with less and some are waiting until they accumulate more. But some families have returned for other reasons. One family in this study, consisting of a husband 31 years of age, an Hawaii-born wife of 21 years, and three children, a newborn baby, and children 3 and 5 years of age, left for the Philippine Islands a short time after the contract pay was received in August, 1934. The contract money was used in paying debts and in last-minute purchases.<sup>13</sup> Although the man expected to work in the fields for someone else and probably to earn less than in Hawaii, he felt his family would be better off, because "they do not need to buy everything there as here." His family would continue to increase, he added, and his earnings were not enough to support them here.

Another family with two children, 4 and 14 years of age, also returned to the Philippines after their contract pay was received. Only \$50 was left after bills were paid. The man

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*Footnote 12—Continued*

4. Because they are paid good wages, plus a bonus for steady attention to their work and because they have nothing to fear from layoffs, shut downs, or slack seasons.

5. Because they cannot expect to find in the Philippines the same sort of profitable employment open to them here, and even if there were plenty of work to be had in their homeland, the remuneration would be small and the perquisites and numerous other advantages entirely lacking.

6. Because they desire to become part and parcel of Hawaii's civilization, establish permanent homes here and rear their children to be loyal Americans under the protection of the Stars and Stripes. From *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*. (Magazine Section.) Honolulu, June 20, 1935.

<sup>13</sup> Field workers are employed either on a piece basis, receiving their entire earnings every month, or on a long-term contract basis. The latter group of workers receive monthly wages of \$1.00 per day worked, plus a 10 per cent turn-out bonus, if 23 days had been worked. The balance of their earnings is withheld until the field is harvested, which is about every 22 months. There were 48 men on a long-term contract basis, and 53 on piece work. See Chapter IV, pp. 49-51 for a discussion of plantation occupations.

explained that there was always a store debt, and it was wiser to return home while they were free of debts.<sup>14</sup> One woman reported their plans to return home in the near future to enable her 21-year old son and 17-year old daughter to marry in the Philippines.

On the other hand, some families were sent back to the Philippines by the planters although they wished to remain on the plantation. Families of laborers who were too inefficient, or who were considered undesirable members of the plantation community were dismissed from the plantation, and given the opportunity of free transportation to the Philippines.<sup>15</sup>

Most of the families in this study are not recent arrivals. All have been in the Territory at least 3 years; half the families have been here over 10 years; and three couples have lived in the Territory 22 to 25 years. Over one-third of the families (39) have lived in the Territory 9 to 11 years. Thirty-one husbands and 29 wives came to the Territory after 1925 and had to bear the expense of their transportation. These couples brought over 43 children and one grandmother and paid their transportation costs.<sup>16</sup>

Seventy-four husbands came directly to the plantation from

<sup>14</sup> This man was apparently worried by the store balance, not realizing that at any given time he was actually solvent because of the amount due him on his contract work by the plantation.

<sup>15</sup> Two families included in this investigation were dismissed and given free transportation to the Philippine Islands the year following the investigation. Both families wished to remain on the plantation. One family was returned to the Philippines as it was considered a health hazard. In this family there were two deaths during the year covered by the study—a 2-year old child from lobar pneumonia, and a 10-month old baby from tubercular meningitis. The mother and a 13-year old daughter were diagnosed as tubercular. There were three other children in the family, ranging in age from 5 to 11 years. The family had lived on the plantation ten years. The income of the family was \$899.

The second family, returned to the Philippines against their wish, was sent back after the birth of the sixth child.

<sup>16</sup> Transportation costs were paid by the families themselves for both husbands and wives, 40 children, and one grandmother in 23 families; for husbands only in 8 families, the husbands marrying after they came to Hawaii; for six wives only and three children, the husbands having come to the Territory before 1926.

the Philippine Islands; and 27 husbands were in the Territory a year or more before securing a job at this plantation. The average period of residence in the Territory for the head of the family was 10.2 years, and on the plantation 9.0 years. The women averaged 10.3 years in the Territory and 9.0 years on the plantation.

In most of the families (70) the husbands and wives have lived the same number of years in the Territory and undoubtedly came over together. In 13 families the husbands were here a shorter length of time than their wives. In these families the couples were married in Hawaii, the man usually having recently emigrated, and the woman coming from a family that had lived in the Territory much longer. In two instances the women were born in Hawaii. In 18 families the husbands came to the Territory alone, and sent for their wives and children 2 to 7 years later.<sup>17</sup>

There appears to be no relationship between length of residence in the Territory and plantation earnings. In a number of families 16, 17, and 18-year old sons earned within a year's time as much as or more than their fathers who had been doing the same work for years.

*The Families in the Hawaiian setting.* We have seen that the family in the Philippines is a large unit rather than the household of parents and children as in American society. It includes a varying circle of relatives linked by blood and marriage, perhaps covering several generations, and with authority concentrated mainly in the hands of the elders. Often a large group will live under the same roof, or close by. In Hawaii, on the other hand, the Filipino family corresponds more closely to the American family of parents and children, with possibly one of the grandparents. But the feeling of

<sup>17</sup> In 7 of these 18 families both husbands and wives and 12 children came after 1925 and paid their own transportation costs, and in 6 families the husbands came to the Territory before 1926 with their transportation paid by the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, and the wives and 3 children came after 1925 and paid their own fares. In 5 families both husbands and wives came before 1926.

unity with the larger kin-group in the Philippines remains strong; economic responsibility for members in that kin-group is felt by the Filipinos in Hawaii, and money is sent to the Philippine relatives even though it entails real self denial on the part of the families in Hawaii.

Many of the characteristics observed in the Philippines apply to the families in the present study. Children are the center of interest and most of the social activities center around them—baptismal fiestas, birthday parties, etc. Social prestige is attained by having large families and many children are desired in Hawaii, as in the Philippines, even though children are an economic liability here. In their discipline of the children, the mothers, particularly, appear to be impulsive and temperamental. They are, by modern American standards, often overindulgent, permitting the children to buy candy, gum, and soda pop which the family can little afford, and to live, eat, and sleep almost as the whim strikes the child. If, on the other hand, a child is ill and in the hospital, the mother frequently sits day and night beside him, refusing to leave even for meals, and if need be, the husband stays home from work to care for the other children in the family.

In the Philippines, children are usually cared for by the elders, leaving the parents free to carry on their work in the fields or in the home. But in Hawaii, the entire responsibility for the children falls upon the parents. The new setting with its absence of the larger family cohesion and control has its effect upon the attitude of children toward their parents. Cariaga gives the following explanation of the seeming breakdown of respect for parents by the children:

Parents in the Philippines, rich or poor, have supreme authority over the children. Even grown up and married children submit to their direction. Great respect is accorded to all elders, and particularly to parents. Filipino children in Hawaii are 'careless and disrespectful', 'disobedient and undisciplined.' When they are reprimanded they 'answer back and call their parents names', 'tell their parents to wait,

or answer in the negative' when asked to do something. This insubordination is due in part to the menial position of the parents in the social scale, which the children are quick to observe once they enter school; and in part to the fact that the children are actually better educated in most cases and better adapted to occidental life, and hence feel superior.<sup>18</sup>

The Filipino men and women love color in their clothing and homes. The kimonos of the men, particularly, are of bright-figured patterns, while the dresses of many women are bright and gay. In one home in which there were no chairs or beds, the husband, aroused from a nap, appeared in the living room in undershirt and shorts. He immediately retired to reappear in a striking bright red silk kimono and walked through the living room some half dozen times during the interview as a child will strut before others to attract attention to some particular finery. Even more important than bright clothes for the women is the jewelry with which they adorn themselves.

In general, the Filipino women in this study are poor housekeepers, a fact readily understandable where there were a large number of young children, or where the wife had some definite line of enterprise, such as washing clothes, sewing, or selling. The kitchens were universally dirty, and although the housewife giggled with embarrassment during the first food inventory when a dirty sack was taken from the cupboard or cockroaches sprang from a can of coffee, the kitchen shelves were usually found in the same condition four weeks later when the second food inventory was taken. The living rooms were swept clean, but the cretonne window curtains frequently needed laundering, the windows needed washing, and the corners cleaning. Elementary principles of American sanitation, unknown in the Philippines, it is true, were frequently ignored here. In one living room a small child squatted over

<sup>18</sup> Cariaga, *op. cit.*

a hole cut in the floor of their living room for his bowel movement, the method customarily used in rural Philippines where pigs are kept under the house to dispose of the refuse. Cariaga explains the poor housekeeping in this way:

While some houses are uniform models of neatness, many are not. A certain laxness prevails among Filipino housewives in Hawaii, which would most definitely not be found among their counterparts in the Philippines. Though not commendable, this is at least understandable. In a new country, where the old strictures have lost their tautness, less important customs will have also grown slack. That the housewives are quite aware of their carelessness is evinced by their embarrassment upon the arrival of strangers, and their naive excuses: 'The baby, he sick today!' (Baby crowing lustily.) 'Excuse please, no more curtains, I wash yesterday!' (In a house where there were never at any time any vestiges of curtains.) 'My house DIRR-ty. I bin visit my friend long time.' On being assured that the writer's house frequently waxed very dusty when more pressing work was in hand, they confided: 'Plantation house. Too much trouble fix him up. Fix good, paint, byemby pilikia (trouble). You pau (through). Plantation keep house!'<sup>19</sup>

During the four and one-half months the writer visited the families, attention was called to a variety of social problems. That problems of social adjustment are found is not surprising when it is recalled that these are for the most part young people who are no longer under the influence of the older generation or the social controls of community life. Bruno Lasker writes:

It is a common observation that . . . 'migration produces a changed type of personality . . . Energies that were formerly controlled by custom and tradition are released. The individual is free for new adventures, but he is more or less without direction and control . . . The stranger stays, but he is not settled. He is a potential wanderer. That means that he is not bound as others are by the local proprieties and conventions.'

But this general tendency is magnified when in the Philippines under the long era of Spanish, and later under a generation of American occupation—old social traditions have already begun to disintegrate

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

under the impact of a foreign culture, so that the more advanced in outlook tend to become footloose and cosmopolitan.<sup>20</sup>

Moreover, Filipino men outnumber Filipino women ten to one on the plantation studied, and most of the problems are largely the result of this disproportion between the sexes. In the Philippines marriage is taken very seriously as a sacrament, and there is no legal divorce although separation is sometimes allowed. In Hawaii there is a certain "happy-go-lucky" feeling that, away from the strict morality of the Philippines where one is under the vigilant eye of relentless neighbors, one may play about a bit.<sup>21</sup> Although divorce is relatively easy to secure, most marital changes are made without benefit of it. The process is expensive, and there is a feeling that it is not necessary; the community standard does not exact, though it approves, chastity. For a wife to remain loyal to her husband under such circumstances implies a deep attachment to her husband, unusual vigilance on his part, or a strong belief by her in the teachings of the Church as to the sacredness of marriage. Some wives entertained lovers while their husbands were working in the fields, and several wives were persuaded by their lovers to leave their husbands and even their children and establish new households. One woman was killed by her lover shortly after the survey ended because she had refused to follow him to another island although she had accepted \$150 from him for this purpose.<sup>22</sup>

But such cases stand out by contrast to the majority of families. In most families husbands and wives were undoubtedly loyal to each other, and family life appeared to be well adjusted to the mores of the community.

*Size and composition of households of families surveyed.*  
The 101 families covered by this study included in addition to

<sup>20</sup> Lasker, *op. cit.*, p. 266. Quotation is from Robert E. Park, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIII, No. 6, pp. 887-888 (1928).

<sup>21</sup> Cariaga, *op. cit.*

<sup>22</sup> According to the statement given at the trial by the man accused of the slaying.



the 101 husbands and wives,<sup>23</sup> 341 children at home, 3 grandfathers, 2 grandmothers, 16 other relatives, and 11 lodgers and boarders, a total of 575 persons. The average-size household was 5.7 persons.<sup>24</sup> In the analysis of family income and expenditures, in addition to the 101 husbands, 101 wives, and 341 children, there are included 2 grandfathers,<sup>25</sup> 2 grandmothers, a 15-year old granddaughter and her husband, a brother and sister living with one couple, and a brother of a husband whom the family was helping to send through high school in Honolulu, a total of 552 persons—an average of 5.5 persons per family<sup>26</sup> (Table 1).

TABLE 1. COMPOSITION OF FAMILIES STUDIED AND COMPOSITION OF THEIR ENTIRE HOUSEHOLDS

Persons	Families studied		Entire households	
	Number of persons	Number of families	Number of persons	Number of families
All persons	552	101	575	101
Members of family:				
Husbands	101	101	101	101
Wives	101	101	101	101
Children	341	95	341	95
Grandfathers	2	2	3	3
Grandmothers	2	2	2	2
Other relatives	5	3	16	12
Lodgers and boarders	—	—	11	9

<sup>23</sup> Only families with a husband and wife were included in this study.

<sup>24</sup> In all but 6 families, "other relatives" and lodgers are male adults earning their living and keeping their expenditures separate from those of the family. In 7 families single men who lived with the family bought their own food, but did not keep it separate from that of the family. Although their food was prepared by the wife, in no case was the wife paid for her work. Five of the "other relatives" are included in the analysis of family expenditures.

<sup>25</sup> One grandfather was employed full time and his earnings were kept separate from the family's.

<sup>26</sup> Families in this study have been classified in three groups in order to indicate changes in mode of living when the economic welfare of the family increases. Since economic welfare depends upon size of family as well as upon family income, each family expenditure is computed on the basis of expenditure units. See Appendix A, pp. 231-4, for the method used in computing the adult male units. Group I includes 37 families that spent less than \$160 per expenditure unit; Group II, 38 families that spent from \$160 to \$259 per expenditure unit; and Group III, 26 families that spent \$260 or over per expenditure unit.

Six families had no children at home,<sup>27</sup> and 32 had only 1 or 2. Fifteen homes had 3; 17, 4; and 16, 5 children. There were 18 families with 6, 7, or 8 children. Seventy-two per cent of all the children lived in homes where there were at least 4 children. Only 95 out of the 341 children lived in families of less than 4 children, and only 14 children were the "only child" at home. Children averaged 3.4 per family, or 3.6 per families with children at home.

*Ages of children and parents.* Youth characterizes these families: the parents are young and the children are young. Thirty-nine per cent of the children at home were under 5 years of age, and 71 per cent were under 10 years. Eighty-nine per cent of the children in the home were dependent upon their parents for their entire support. Due to early marriages, no girls over 20 years of age were living at home. Only 5 daughters were found in the 15 to 19-year age group, and 2 of these were contributing to their support<sup>28</sup> (Table 2).

TABLE 2. STATUS OF DEPENDENCY OF CHILDREN CLASSIFIED BY AGE

Age of Children	Total Number of Children		Number Dependent				Number Independent	
	Male	Female	Totally Male	Totally Female	Partially Male	Partially Female	Male	Female
All ages	184	157	148	155	15	2	21	—
Less than 5 years	63	69	63	69	—	—	—	—
5 - 9 years	60	49	60	49	—	—	—	—
10-14 years	31	34	20	34	11	—	—	—
15-19 years	19	5	4	3	4	2	11	—
20 years and over	11	—	1	—	—	—	10	—

<sup>27</sup> Included in the 6 families, and classified as "others" in the household is the family with the 15-year old granddaughter and her husband who were married during the year.

<sup>28</sup> Sons employed full time are classified as "independent," and boys employed during the summer months as "partially dependent." The 2 daughters who were carrying on an occupation in the home have been classified as "partially dependent", as their earnings were insufficient to cover their expenses, and their employment was part time rather than full time.

Only 13 wives and 17 husbands were 45 years or older, and none was more than 55 years. Half of the husbands were under 35, half the wives under 30 years of age. Five wives were still in their teens, the youngest being 16 years old, but each had at least one child. The average age for husbands was 35.7 years and for wives, 33.0 years (Table 3).

TABLE 3. AGE OF HUSBANDS AND WIVES

Age	Husbands		Wives	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
All ages	101		101	
Not reported	2		1	
Total reported	99	100.0	100	100.0
15-19 years	—	—	5	5.0
20-24 years	4	4.0	11	11.0
25-29 years	8	8.1	19	19.0
30-34 years	38	38.4	25	25.0
35-39 years	23	23.2	17	17.0
40-44 years	9	9.1	10	10.0
45-49 years	8	8.1	9	9.0
50-54 years	9	9.1	4	4.0
Mean		35.7		33.0
Median		35.0		33.0

*Birthrate of Filipino women.* According to Romanzo Adams, Filipino women have the highest birthrate of any nationality group in the Territory, 312 births to 1000 women 15 to 44 years of age for the year 1931-32.<sup>29</sup> The birth rate for Filipino women 15 years and over on the sugar plantation dealt with in this study, for the year ending 1934, was 429 per 1000 women, a rate considerably higher than that for the Territory as a whole. Concerning the high birth rate for Filipino women, Dr. Adams writes:

Most of the Filipino women in Hawaii at the present time are immigrants of not over 10 years residence and their high birth rate

<sup>29</sup> Romanzo Adams, "Studies in the Trends of the Population of Hawaii." (Exhibit D.) *Hearings Before the Committee on Territorial and Insular Affairs. Administration in Hawaii.* (72nd Congress, 2nd Sess.) Washington, 1933, pp. 101-103.

may be taken as characteristic of newly arrived labor groups, the women being predominantly young and almost untouched by American influences.<sup>30</sup>

The total number of pregnancies was recorded for each wife (Table 4). The information is not entirely complete, however, as it was later found that children living in the Philippine Islands or dead had not always been reported. It is notable that despite their low average age of 33, the wives in these families have undergone an average of 5 or 6 pregnancies. Sixty-four of the wives who reported pregnancies reported deaths of 122 children, usually infants or very young children, and 35 women reported a total of 48 still births or miscarriages. Women in the lowest expenditure group lost by death a larger proportion of their children than did the women in the two higher groups; on the other hand, women in the highest expenditure group reported the highest relative number of still births or miscarriages.

TABLE 4. WIVES REPORTING PREGNANCIES, BIRTHS, AND DEATHS OF THEIR CHILDREN

Items	Number Reporting	Total Number	Average Number for Women Reporting Pregnancies	Percentage of Total Number of Pregnancies
Total number of pregnancies	99	553	5.6	100.0
Children at home	95	341	3.5	—
Children living	97	383	3.9	69.3
Children dead	64	122	1.2	22.1
Stillbirths or miscarriages	35	48	.48	8.6

*Dialects represented.* The families, with one exception, in which the wife is Portuguese, were drawn from two of the three Filipino dialect groups which have immigrated here. There were no Tagalogs represented in the families surveyed, and only 3 out of the 967 Filipino workers on the plantation.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

were Tagalog. Although the majority of single Filipino workers on the plantation are Ilocano, the majority of families are Visayan. Only 24 of the 101 families surveyed were Ilocano, 24 husbands and 22 wives reporting birth in the Ilocos district. The Visayans, who comprise 76 per cent of the families concerned in this study, come from the central Philippines, most of them from one island, Cebu. Sixty-two husbands and 64 wives gave Cebu as their birthplace. The Visayans are divided into two sub-dialect groups: the Cebuanos and Ilongos; the former coming from the islands of Cebu and Bohol, the latter from Panay. The two groups have little in common in the homeland, and indeed hardly understand one another as a result of isolation and provincialism, but in Hawaii the presence of the Ilocanos speaking

TABLE 5. BIRTHPLACE OF HUSBANDS AND WIVES

Birthplace	Husbands Number	Wives Number
Total number	101	101
Ilocano	24	22
<i>Luzon Island</i>	—	—
Ilocos Norte province	17	19
Ilocos Sur           ,,	5	—
Pangasinan       ,,	1	3
Abra	1	—
Visayan	77	77
<i>Cebu Island</i>	62	64
<i>Bohol Island</i>	7	6
<i>Siquijor Island</i>	1	2
<i>Negros Island</i>	—	—
Oriental Negros province	1	1
<i>Panay Island</i>	—	—
Iloilo province	2	2
<i>Luzon Island</i>	—	—
La Union province	1	—
Unknown*	3	2
Territory of Hawaii†	—	2

\* All Visayan.

† One woman is Portuguese, the other Ilocano, both married to Ilocano men.

a distinctly different dialect tends to break down the barriers between them. Both the husband and wife in 81 of the 98 families for which information is available came from the same province and dialect group. Of the 20 couples reporting different provinces, 13 were married in Hawaii (Table 5).

There were no marked differences evident in the mode of living of the Visayan and Ilocano families. The 24 Ilocano families had been in the Territory about a year less in length of time than the 77 Visayan families, and about two years less on the plantation surveyed.<sup>31</sup> In general, the Ilocano parents were somewhat younger in age than the Visayan parents, although the size of family of the two groups was approximately the same.<sup>32</sup> Ilocano husbands and wives are more literate than the Visayan parents.<sup>33</sup>

Family income of the Ilocano families was higher, on the average, than that of Visayan families, due to higher earnings of both husbands and wives.<sup>34</sup> The average savings (for entire residence in the Territory) for the Visayan families was only 55 per cent of that of the Ilocano families, although they averaged almost a year longer in Hawaii than the

<sup>31</sup> Ilocano men averaged 9.8 years in the Territory and 7.6 years on the plantation, and the Visayan men 10.7 years in the Territory and 9.5 years on the plantation.

<sup>32</sup> Only 12.5 per cent of Ilocano husbands are found in the 40-year and over age group, whereas 30 per cent of the Visayan husbands are in this age group. Four per cent of Ilocano women as compared to 16 per cent of Visayan women were over 45 years of age. Ilocano families averaged 3.3 children at home, and Visayan families 3.5 children. All 6 families with no children at home were Visayan. Visayan families with children averaged 3.7 children.

<sup>33</sup> Thirty-eight per cent of Ilocano husbands as contrasted with 47 per cent of Visayan men reported inability to read or write in any language. Fifty per cent of Ilocano wives, compared with 73 per cent of Visayan wives, were illiterate.

<sup>34</sup> If contract pay is pro-rated on the basis of 21.7 months, Ilocano husbands averaged \$506, and Visayan husbands, \$465 per year. Seventy-five per cent of the Ilocano women and 53 per cent of Visayan women reported financial contributions to the family income. Ilocano women so contributing averaged \$158, as against \$128 earned by the Visayan women. Of the Ilocanos, 45.8 per cent are found in the highest expenditure group, though only 20.5 per cent of the Visayan families are so classified. The Ilocano families constitute 16 per cent of the families in Group I, 18 per cent of Group II, and 42 per cent of Group III, while they constitute 24 per cent of all families.

Ilocanos, while their debts were 53 per cent more than those of Ilocano families.<sup>35</sup>

The Filipino families in Hawaii are thus seen as ranged along the road towards Americanization, but with the majority clinging in large measure, where the new setting allows it, to the customs and values of their Philippine peasant backgrounds. There is some inevitable disorganization, as a result of experience of migration, the unbalanced sex ratio and age distribution in Hawaii, and especially the absence of older relatives and the social forces of *barrio* life which maintained standards and discipline. But the families have made creditable efforts to adapt themselves to these new conditions. They are affected in different degrees by contact with people of other customs and living standards, the most effective medium of contact being the children attending the mixed public schools.

<sup>35</sup> Ilocano families reported an average saving of \$243, and Visayan families of \$133, for entire residence in Territory. Debts of Ilocano families averaged \$51, and Visayan families \$84.

## CHAPTER IV

### OCCUPATIONS AND INCOME

*Working conditions on the plantation.* A majority of jobs on the sugar plantations require unskilled labor.<sup>1</sup> Most of the workers covered in this survey work in the fields. Some, however, are employed in the sugar mill, others work in the stables, drive the various delivery wagons, and tend the grounds of the plantation villages. Field jobs consist of clearing and plowing; preparing and maintaining irrigation ditches; cutting, hauling and planting seed; cultivating the cane by irrigating, weeding, exterminating insects, and fertilizing; harvesting by hand or machines; and loading, hauling or fluming the cane. Work of this type is done by unskilled workers and may be on a piece-work basis commonly called short-term contracts, or on a long-term contract basis. In this study the workers on a piece-work basis are referred to as non-contract workers.

Under the piece-work method payment is made on the basis of the number of units of work performed at a rate per unit announced before commencement of the work. Many different operations, ranging from harvesting to plowing, fertilizing or weeding, are done by piece work. Those on

<sup>1</sup> Skilled workers on the plantations include blacksmiths, carpenters, chemists, electricians, locomotive engineers, machinists, nurses, policemen, pump engineers, tractor drivers, sugar boilers, timekeepers, welders, and the like. There were no skilled workers included in this survey.



piece work are permanent employees who are shifted from one job to another. They are paid each month on the basis of the work performed, plus a 10 per cent bonus if they have worked 23/26th of the available number of working days in a month.<sup>2</sup>

Long-term contract workers are organized into cultivating gangs selected and supervised by their foreman or *luna*. They agree to cultivate, irrigate and fertilize a field of sugar cane during its growing period, commencing after the field has been planted and prepared by the plantation, and finishing when it is ready for cutting or harvesting. The size of the field varies from 50 to 280 acres, and the size of the gang with the size of field, usually at a ratio of one man to every ten acres. The men are paid for this work on the basis of the number of tons of clean cane delivered from the particular field at the grinding mill. Advances are made to each worker of \$1 per day for his work actually performed in the field, plus the 10 per cent bonus if he has worked 23 days in the month. Thus, if a man works 23 days in a month, he is paid \$23 plus \$2.30 for attendance, or \$25.30. The remainder, called by the workers the "big pay", is paid after the sugar cane has been harvested and the total earnings have been determined.

The rates per ton of sugar cane under the cultivation agreement vary considerably from field to field, depending upon differences in natural conditions and upon the tons of cane per man of work which may be anticipated. Productivity of the soil, type of cane and difficulties met with in cultivation or irrigation are all taken into consideration in setting the rate per ton of sugar cane in order that all long-term contract workers will be able to earn about the same amount of money per day on final settlement. Finally, the amount of the final

<sup>2</sup> The 10 per cent turn-out bonus applies to factory work and other jobs on the plantation as well as to all field workers, whether contract or non-contract. The bonus was discontinued early in 1932 but was returned again in September 1933.

settlement, i.e., of the "big pay", depends upon the world price of sugar at that time.<sup>3</sup>

The contract workers have what may be regarded as an advantage in being left a certain amount of responsibility and initiative in organizing their work efforts. They face the gamble, however, as to whether their final settlement will bring an income above or below that of the piece workers, and they must live on a smaller regular pay check or use credit against the big contract pay day.

Machinery is used at every stage in the production of the sugar cane, beginning with the clearing of the ground. Plowing is done with disk plows drawn by caterpillar tractors. The cane fields are burned before cutting in order to remove the lower part of the stalk instead of stripping it by hand. The cane is cut by hand or by means of mechanical harvesters. On the plantation concerned with here, all cane was cut by hand at the time of this study.<sup>4</sup> Cranes are used in loading cane onto the cars for transportation to the grinding mill. The mechanization of the industry received a fresh impetus in 1937 when wages were increased by order of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration of the U. S. Department of Agriculture. In 1939 the President of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association stated:

The industry has continued to explore the possibilities of further mechanization of the field processes in the production of sugar. Each year has seen the industry moving steadily forward in this effort. The year 1939 has not been laggard in this respect. Through such mechanization the industry is continually lightening the laboriousness of plantation tasks and reducing unit costs of production. It is gratifying to note that this has been accomplished without hardship to employees.

<sup>3</sup> See Ethelbert Stewart, *Labor Conditions in the Territory of Hawaii, 1929-1930*. (U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, No. 534), Washington, 1931, pp. 27-28. Also *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, April 9, 1938, which gives statement by Major General Briant H. Wells, representative of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, at the wage hearings conducted by the U. S. Department of Agriculture.

<sup>4</sup> Cane cutters were adopted two years later. *Report of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, 56th Annual Meeting*, Honolulu, 1936.

On the contrary a by-product of this endeavor has been the provision in connection with mechanized processes for the employment of an increasing number of skilled workers.<sup>5</sup>

The efficacy of the labor-saving measures is indicated by the fact that tons of sugar produced per employee increased from 5.6 in 1882 to 19.9 in 1934.<sup>6</sup>

The sugar plantation workers are usually employed throughout the year, although a recent report of 38 sugar plantations shows a difference of 7,029 workers employed in October, 1933, the month of lowest employment, and June, 1933, that of the highest number of laborers—a fluctuation of 12.3 per cent.<sup>7</sup>

The difference in the payrolls of the 38 plantations for November and August, 1933, the months of lowest and highest amounts, was 13.7 per cent.<sup>8</sup> Only the non-contract workers are affected by the slack periods. During this time, usually the months of October, November and December, the available work is divided among this group of workers, amounting on the average to two or three days' work a week. In these families the earnings during the slack season were frequently less than a third of that received during the month of maximum employment. The contract workers are not affected by the slack period.

There is a certain rhythm on the plantation which is peculiar to an industrialized community. The activities of the people

<sup>5</sup> "President John Waterhouse Reports to HSPA on Hawaii Sugar Industry," *The Honolulu Advertiser*, Dec. 5, 1939, p. 8.

<sup>6</sup> Lind, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

<sup>7</sup> Unpublished report to Governor Poindexter by the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, prepared by Richard A. Cooke, Honolulu, 1934. A check of the families in this study in April, 1936, found that 17 husbands were no longer working for the plantation, giving a separation rate of 10.6 per cent for the following year. The rate for the year covered is unknown as only families on the plantation the entire year were included in the survey. Twenty-eight of the 101 husbands had left the plantation within the 5 years following the investigation, 24 returning to the Philippines and 3 families moving to Honolulu or to some other plantation or village. One family was broken by the death of the head of the household.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

are regulated by a time clock; the jobs are uniform and specialized. The laborer follows one simple limited line of work according to exact specifications of the management, and under the minute directions of his *luna* or overseer. The stolid, plodding type of worker is preferred—the man who obeys without question and leaves the thinking to his superior.

In 1934 the field laborers on the plantation concerned with here worked  $8\frac{3}{4}$  or  $9\frac{3}{4}$  hours a day, but were away from home 11 or 12 hours. At 5 a.m. the first whistle warned those living some distance away to be ready for the bus or train which carried them to the railroad crossing. At 5:20 a second whistle was the signal for the assignments for the day; late comers missed their assignments and were not permitted to work that day. At 5:40 a third whistle was the signal for the truck or train to take the workers to the fields, and at 6 o'clock the day's work began. At 7:45 there was a 15 minute interval for breakfast, and at 11 a.m. half an hour was allowed for lunch. Both breakfast and lunch were cooked and packed by the workers before they left home in the morning. Quitting time came at 3:30 or 4:30 depending upon the type of work. A train or truck carried the laborers back to their camps.<sup>9</sup>

About 10 per cent of the plantation workers were employed in the sugar mill or other shops.<sup>10</sup> The employees in the mill were on a 12-hour schedule during the year of this study. Their hours, too, were regulated by whistles, one at 5 a.m. to arouse the workers, a second at 5:30 a.m., and the third at 6 o'clock which started the day's work. The same schedule was followed for meals in the factory as in the fields—a 15 minute interval at 7:45 a.m. for breakfast, and 30 minutes at 11 o'clock for lunch. The day's work was ended at 6 p.m.

<sup>9</sup> As a result of the Sugar Act of 1937 hours of field work were reduced to 8 per day.

<sup>10</sup> *Richardson Report on Law Enforcement in the Territory of Hawaii*, Senate Document No. 78. (72nd Congress, 1st Sess.) Washington, 1932, p. 192.

The hours of work in the mill were reduced to 8 a day in 1937.

Pay day on the plantation is a day of reckoning. Plantation accounts have already been deducted from the wages in the office, and other collectors are on hand to receive payment on their bills. The Filipinos are paid on the second Saturday of the month unless it falls after the 13th of the month, in which case payment is made on the first Saturday. The laborers fall in line along the walk leading to the paymaster's office window, which opens on the street. Plantation police stand by the window and check the identification discs or *bangos*<sup>11</sup> of the workers to be sure each man gets his own pay envelope. On the envelope are shown the deductions made in the office and the amount which is due in cash. Little or nothing remains for most families, after the bills of the creditors have been paid. If there is money in the home during the interval between pay days, it frequently comes from the wife's earnings.

Among the creditors on hand on pay day is the fish vendor who may be an elderly Japanese woman, or a Filipina, a former Rizal Day queen now married to a plantation laborer. Her parents are fisher folk and cooperate in the business. The Japanese vendor, waiting to be paid, has been dealing exclusively with Filipino customers for the past fifteen years, offering special Filipino vegetables. He greets the laborers in their native tongue. Outside collectors are likewise waiting in the camp seeking to collect the monthly installments on such purchases as phonographs, sewing machines, radios, automobiles, and tailor-made suits of clothing. Filipino taxi drivers hope to receive payment on their bills, and the women who have done the laundry for the single men join the creditors in trying to collect the amount due them.

<sup>11</sup> The *bango* is a copper plate about the size of a half dollar with the worker's identification number engraved on it. He presents it also when he makes purchases at the plantation store on credit; and to the timekeeper when he goes to work. If he loses it, he is fined one dollar before it is replaced.



Outside the Health Center (*see page 98*)



Field laborers at close of day waiting for a plantation truck to take them home (*see page 53*)

The wife in Hawaii as in the Philippines has complete charge of the family funds. When pay day comes around, the married man returns home from the paymaster's office and gives his entire pay envelope to his wife. If he needs money, he must obtain it from his wife. She pays the bills; she likewise makes the expenditures or arranges for the credit. She keeps the money—and most of the empty envelopes—safely locked in the large steamer trunk in one of the bedrooms. The key is frequently hidden somewhere in the house, but sometimes it is kept in a pocket of her clothes. The balance sheet at the end of the year reflects the wisdom of the wife's decisions as well as the adequacy of the family income.

*Occupations and earnings of husbands.* Forty-eight men, 47.5 per cent of the total number, are classified as long-term contract workers, and 53, or 52.5 per cent, as non-contract workers.<sup>12</sup> Of the latter group, 29 were employed in the fields, 16 were mill laborers, one a mill machinist, and one each of the following: stable laborer, yard laborer, pump man, truck driver, milk wagon driver, painter, and special policeman. The workers receiving the highest income from the plantation were two mill laborers earning \$756 and \$766, the special policeman earning \$837, and one worker loading cane who earned \$862 for the year.

The contract work was done largely by the Visayan men in this study, only four Ilocano men being engaged on this basis during the year. Of the remaining 20 Ilocanos, 18 were on non-contract field labor and 2 were mill workers. The

<sup>12</sup> Because of the effect which receipt of a contract pay has on the family's expenditures, all husbands who were on long-term contract work the entire year or who received contract pay during the year, but shifted to some other occupation, are classified as contract workers. Fourteen husbands were on contract work, but did not receive their long-term contract pay during the year; 23 husbands received contract pay and continued on that basis, and 11 others received contract pay and were then given other employment. Fifty-nine and one-half per cent of families in Group I were classified as contract workers, 50 per cent in Group II, and 27 per cent in Group III.

few Ilocanos in contract work may be due to the fact that sugar cultivation is less familiar since it is not carried on in the Ilocos provinces of the Philippines, or it may be that the difference in characteristics noted on pages 27 and 28 are factors.

The annual income of contract workers includes the monthly envelope of \$1.00 a day, plus the 10 per cent turn-out bonus, and the "big pay." Thirty-four workers received their contract pay during the year, the amounts ranging from \$172 to \$344, and averaging \$250. The actual receipts of contract workers ranged from \$162 to \$772 (average \$480), being low for those that did not receive a "big pay" during the year, and high for those that did. Contract pay is received once every 18 to 26 months, depending on the nature of the contract. On the plantation surveyed, the average period is approximately 21.7 months. Thus normally 55 per cent of the contract workers could expect to receive their contract pay in any one year. During the year covered in this study, however, 70 per cent of the contract workers received their pay, thus causing the average income of contract workers to be larger than could be expected over a period of years if the same wage rates prevailed. For purposes of comparison the long-term contract pay was pro-rated on the basis of 21.7 months.<sup>13</sup> When the incomes are adjusted on the basis of the average contract pay that would normally be received, their average annual income amounts to \$436 instead of \$480. Long-term contract workers are generally believed to earn more than non-contract workers, but the reverse appears to be true of the Filipinos in this study, as the non-contract workers' plantation income ranged from \$218 to \$862 and averaged \$509.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> The income to be expected from contract pay was computed by determining the ratio of actual number of months on contract work during the current year to 21.7 months and applying this ratio to the last long-term contract pay received.

<sup>14</sup> According to an unpublished report to Governor Poindexter by the H.S.P.A., p. 38, the average cash earnings of adult unskilled males for 1933 on 38 sugar plantations was \$1.634 per day. The average cash earnings for piece work (including long-term contract work) in 1933 was \$1.88 per day, and for day work, \$1.39.



The average Ilocano man earned \$42 more during the year than the Visayan—\$506 and \$464.<sup>15</sup> Both Visayan and Ilocano husbands who are able to read and write in English earn more than those not so accomplished.<sup>16</sup> Likewise, those who reported schooling in the Philippines had higher earnings than those who reported no schooling (\$496 and \$464). The highest earnings for both dialect groups were received by husbands between 35 and 39 years of age.

*Occupations and earnings of wives.* Fifty-nine of the 101 wives were engaged in some activity which increased the family income. Although these women came from rural districts in the Philippines where it was customary for women to work in the fields with their husbands, in no case was a Filipino woman employed in the fields on the plantation covered in this survey, though some Japanese women were. Scarcity of Filipino women in the Territory has put a premium on them, and they occupy a privileged position.

All but six of the Filipino wives carried on their activities in the home. Thirty-nine women earned something by washing and ironing clothes for persons outside the family, usually for some of the single men on the plantation, at a rate of \$2 a month; 7 kept boarders, in most cases with a very small margin of profit; 16 sold cooked food, such as bread, little

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Footnote 14—Continued

On September 1, 1937, wages were increased for sugar plantation workers by order of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. The amount of the wage increase depended upon the wages previously paid. A 5 per cent increase was ordered for the plantation on which this study was made. Wages were again increased slightly in 1938. U. S. Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Adjustment Administration, *Determination of Fair and Reasonable Wages for Persons Employed in the Production, Cultivation, or Harvesting of Sugar Cane in Hawaii During the Period September 1, 1937, to December 31, 1937, Pursuant to the Sugar Act of 1937.* (SD No. 22.) Washington, 1938, p. 2.

<sup>15</sup> For purposes of comparison the contract pay has been pro-rated for the year and added to the total monthly wage for the year.

<sup>16</sup> The 15 who could read and write English and Filipino averaged \$551; the 40 men who read Filipino only, \$467; and the 46 who could read neither Filipino nor English, \$455.

cakes, doughnuts, candy and meat which they had prepared, peddling it to the single men; 6 earned some income by sewing and 3 by taking care of small children. Five of the six women who earned money by activities outside their home sold merchandise, and one woman took care of the bathhouse in "B" village, receiving the 50 cents' charge per family as her compensation. Most of the merchandise sold by the five women was purchased in the Philippine Islands and resold here at a considerable profit. The lottery method was frequently used, chances being sold on some article of clothing, such as a shirt or underwear or tie. Several of these women went to other islands in order to sell their merchandise. More than half of the employed women, 39, reported earning money from more than one of these activities.

The earnings of the Filipino wives in this study were in most cases considered to be her property and frequently were kept separate from those of her husband or children. Her money occasionally was used to purchase a badly needed washing machine, or to make payments on the sewing machine, but it was more frequently used to purchase gold jewelry regarded as a necessity, as practically every wife has at least gold earrings and a necklace. Jewelry may be purchased even though the bill of the fish man was not completely paid when the last contract pay was received, or the installment payments on various articles in the home have not been met regularly. When asked for an explanation, her answer was simple, "It is my money." In other homes, however, her earnings were pooled with the other income and used to increase the general well-being of the entire family.

The amounts of the financial contributions of the 59 women ranged from \$3 to \$538, and averaged \$139. Half the women earned over \$110. An analysis of the remaining 42 families indicates that most of these wives would also have earned something if it were not for late pregnancies or young children in their homes. Many of these women stated they had taken

in washing or kept boarders until a short time before their babies were born, and would start again as soon as they were able.<sup>17</sup> The sugar industry in Hawaii is geared to the needs of the single Filipino, and the laborers' earnings are insufficient to meet the needs of a wife and several children. It appears necessary in many families that the wife must contribute financially if the family lives according to Filipino custom and remains out of debt.<sup>18</sup>

Not only is the proportion of Ilocano women (77 per cent) who contributed financially to the family income considerably higher than that for the Visayan women (54 per cent), but the Ilocano women's earnings were also higher (\$158 compared to \$128). The higher earnings of the Ilocano women account to some extent for the better financial condition of their families.<sup>19</sup>

*Employment of children.* It is customary among these Filipino families for sons to work outside the home at a very young age, but for daughters to remain in the home. No instance was reported of a daughter employed in any activity which took her out of the home. The two girls who were earning some money carried on their activities at home, one by washing and ironing clothes, and the other by sewing.

Although boys are encouraged to secure work during the summer months at a young age, and to work full time as soon as they finish grammar school, they for the most part remain on the plantation and live with their parents until their marriage. Eleven of the 28 boys, 10 to 14 years of age, worked in the sugar fields during the summer months. Two of these boys were aged 11 and 12 years. Of the 20 sons, 15

<sup>17</sup> There were 184 children in these 59 families, an average of 3.1 per family. The remaining 42 families in which the mothers reported no financial contributions averaged 3.7 children per family.

<sup>18</sup> Fifty-four per cent of the wives in Group I earned money; 53 per cent in Group II, and 73 per cent in Group III.

<sup>19</sup> The average earnings for all Ilocano women was \$121, and for all Visayan women, \$71.

to 19 years of age, 11 were self-supporting, and 5 were employed during the summer. Ten of the 11 sons, 20 years of age and over, were employed full time on the plantation.

The earnings of the school boys who worked during the summer were pooled with the family income. The part-time earnings of 17 children in 13 families averaged \$57 per family reporting, or \$7.32 for all families. In most cases a son employed full time turned over his entire pay to his mother, and in turn the mother purchased his clothing and gave him a small sum as spending money. This allowance was used chiefly for recreation, as all tobacco for the family, practically all personal supplies such as hair oils, tooth brushes and razors, were purchased from the plantation store. In a few families the working sons gave their mothers a fixed amount to cover board and lodging, but these were the exceptions. The annual earnings of 21 sons employed full time in 15 families averaged \$408 per family reporting, or \$61 for all families.

*Family income.* Family income of the Filipino families in this study ranged from \$244 to \$1,597, with half of the families having less than \$627 (Table 6).<sup>20</sup> This wide range in family

<sup>20</sup> All receipts of cash, with the exception of that acquired by borrowing or from repaid loans, savings withdrawals, cash on hand at the beginning of the year, and funds sent to the Philippines for investment, are counted as "income" in this study. Repaid loans are considered a transfer of investments or savings and not a part of annual income. Of the children's earnings only that amount which was itemized was considered a part of the family income. Because of the practice of sons turning over their pay envelopes to their mothers and keeping only a little spending money, the amount of the son's earnings which went unaccounted for was small.

In 5 families money was put into a Filipino saving society. In 4 families the money was paid into the society and returned during the course of the year. No account was taken of these transactions. In 1 family the money put in the society was withdrawn from savings and upon its receipt from the society was sent to the Philippine Islands for investment in land. In this instance the money was considered a transfer from one form of savings investment to another, and was not included as savings or income.

Eight families received income from boarders. In 4 families the entire amount paid by the boarders is included in income, the food expenditure likewise including the cost of food for the boarders. In 4 families, where there were boarders only a part of the year, but not at the time the food records were taken, the income includes

income of workers in the same unskilled group is due largely to the difference in family composition. For example, in the

TABLE 6. TOTAL FAMILY MONEY INCOME RECEIVED DURING YEAR

Total Family Money Income	Number of Families	Percentage of all Families
All amounts	101	100.0
\$200—\$299	6	5.9
300—399	8	7.9
400—499	11	10.9
500—599	18	17.8
600—699	18	17.8
700—799	13	12.9
800—899	7	6.9
900—999	6	5.9
1000—1099	4	4.0
1100—1199	4	4.0
1200—1299	2	2.0
1300—1399	1	1.0
1400—1499	2	2.0
1500—1599	1	1.0

## AVERAGE INCOME FOR ALL FAMILIES

Mean	\$682.81
Median	627.10

*Footnote 20—Continued*

only the net income from the boarders, and the estimate of the year's expenditures for food does not include the cost of food for the boarders. In 1 family the food records for the four weeks include the food purchased by a single man, and could not be segregated from that purchased by the family. For this family the total food expenditure for the year includes that of the single man, and the income for the family likewise includes the amount the single man reported spending on his food.

One family received \$5 from a voluntary sickness insurance scheme operating among families and single men living in "B" village. In 1 family the wages of a son-in-law are included in the family income, and in another the earnings of the wife's father and brother are also included. Six families reported the sale of eggs and chickens, 2 the sale of pigs, and 3 the sale of automobiles. Under income is included the entire amount received, and in expenditures are included the purchase price and cost of feed of the chickens and pigs. Twenty-one families reported receiving gifts at the time of a celebration or funeral. These gifts range in value from \$2 to \$180, and are considered a part of the family income. Five families were given financial assistance by relatives not living at home and 4 families gifts of money from other sources. Five families reported the receipt of interest on their savings accounts, and 1 family received a soldier's bonus of \$180. The sums of \$25 and \$80 were entered as income with source unknown in the case of 2 families, as it was known there was additional income which was not reported.

family with income of \$1,597 the husband's plantation earnings amounted to \$494. The balance was earned by three sons employed full time and a daughter who did laundry work. This family falls in Group II in spite of the relatively high money income.

The husband's plantation income averaged \$498, or 73 per cent of the family income, and that of the wife and children \$149, or 22 per cent. The remaining 5 per cent came from a variety of sources.<sup>21</sup>

The family income in Group I is considerably lower than in Groups II and III (\$507, \$763, and \$816, respectively), due to lower earnings of the husbands (\$409, \$544, and \$556),<sup>22</sup> and also to lower earnings of wives (\$52, \$77, and \$129) and of children (\$37, \$97, and \$70) (Table 7).

*Family cash.* The Filipino workers receive only a portion of their plantation income in cash. Many items are deducted from their earnings by the management. These include all

<sup>21</sup> See footnote 20 for discussion of sources of income. The husband's plantation income constitutes 80 per cent of the total income of the lowest expenditure group, 71 per cent in the second group, and 68 per cent in the highest expenditure group. The additional income accrues largely from the earnings of the wife and children who in Group I had combined earnings amounting to 17 per cent of the average family incomes. In Group II they earned 23 per cent and in Group III, 24 per cent of the total income. Many families classified in Groups II or III would fall in a lower group if it were not for these earnings.

<sup>22</sup> The lower plantation earnings of husbands in Group I than in Groups II and III are due to several factors. In the first place, the income of the non-contract workers was less in Group I than in II and III, being \$377, \$527, and \$594, respectively. In the second place, the earnings of contract workers were less in I than in II and III (\$431, \$548, and \$454). This was due to two causes: firstly, a smaller proportion in Group I than in II and III received their contract pay during the year. Twenty-five per cent of those in I, against 5 per cent in II and 12 per cent in III, were contract workers who received only monthly envelopes and no contract pay during the year, thus causing the average income in I to be unduly lowered. Moreover, the earnings of the workers receiving monthly earnings only, and no contract pay, were less in I than in II and III, being \$275, \$308, and \$309. Secondly, if the contract pay was pro-rated on the basis of 21.7 months, in order to eliminate the effect of receipt or non-receipt of contract pay, the earnings of the contract workers in Group I are still less than in the other two groups, (\$411, \$458, and \$457). Thus it appears that the men in Group I, whether on contract or non-contract work, earned less than those in the other two groups.

TABLE 7. AMOUNT OF ANNUAL MONEY INCOME FROM SPECIFIED SOURCES FOR 101 FILIPINO FAMILIES

Sources of Income	Families classified according to amount spent per expenditure unit									All groups		
	Under \$160			\$160-\$259			\$260 and over					
	No. of families reporting	Average amount		No. of families reporting	Average amount		No. of families reporting	Average amount		No. of families reporting	Average amount	
		per family reporting	for all families		per family reporting	for all families		per family reporting	for all families		per family reporting	for all families
Total income for year	37	\$506.99	\$506.99	38	\$762.61	\$762.61	26	\$816.39	\$816.39	101	\$682.81	\$682.81
Husband's earnings:												
Monthly pay envelope	37	320.33	320.33	38	426.60	426.60	26	517.48	517.48	101	411.06	411.06
Long-term contract pay	13	252.53	88.73	17	261.90	117.17	4	252.79	38.89	34	257.25	86.60
Other earnings	—	—	—	1	50.00	1.32	3	175.33	20.23	4	144.00	5.70
Wife's earnings	20	96.48	52.15	20	146.55	77.13	19	176.79	129.19	59	139.32	81.38
Children's earnings:												
Full-time employment	4	315.42	34.10	6	548.62	86.62	5	313.72	60.33	15	408.13	60.61
Part-time employment	4	29.03	3.14	7	54.59	10.06	2	120.58	9.28	13	56.88	7.32
Others in household *	—	—	—	2	406.46	21.39	2	141.00	10.84	4	273.73	10.85
Sale of eggs and chickens	2	6.25	.34	1	8.16	.22	3	75.70	8.73	6	41.29	2.45
Sale of pigs	—	—	—	2	72.50	3.82	—	—	—	2	72.50	1.44
Sale of cars	1	50.00	1.35	1	50.00	1.32	1	80.00	3.08	3	60.00	1.78
Gifts:												
Received at celebrations	6	8.65	1.40	10	29.05	7.64	5	70.15	13.49	21	33.00	6.86
Relatives outside	2	56.25	3.04	1	40.00	1.05	2	11.70	.90	5	35.18	1.74
Other	2	6.00	.32	2	53.00	2.79	—	—	—	4	29.50	1.17
Interest	2	38.55	2.08	1	3.88	.10	2	11.30	.87	5	20.72	1.03
Soldier's bonus	—	—	—	1	180.00	4.74	—	—	—	1	180.00	1.78
Unknown	—	—	—	1	25.00	.66	1	80.00	3.08	2	52.50	1.04

\* Includes earnings of son-in-law in one family, father and brother of the wife in another family and expenditure for food in two families by relatives living with the families and not keeping their food expenditures separate.

accounts with the plantation, such as those at the plantation store (for food, clothing, personal items, etc.), electric light bills, dues and bills at the Filipino Club, charges at the Health Center and kindergarten tuition; and also other items, such as the meat bill at an independent meat market, purchases of large framed photographs, automobile licenses, insurance premiums, fines imposed by the plantation for misdeeds, garnisheed wages, school lunches, and a miscellany of small items. In many families the amount of cash received after these items are deducted is very small. In general, the lower the income the higher was the percentage of the earnings deducted by the plantation to satisfy the various accounts.<sup>23</sup> Cash income from the plantation ranged from \$2 to \$650, with half the families receiving less than \$88 in cash from the plantation. This was about 22 per cent of their plantation earnings.

In 74 families the cash income of the husbands was supplemented by the earnings of the wives and children. Total family cash income ranged from \$23 to \$1,035, averaging \$279. Half the families reported less than \$246 income in cash for the year.<sup>24</sup>

The amount and proportion of the income which is paid in cash determined in some families whether they could attend a movie; in others whether clothes and household furnishings or food could be purchased in Honolulu for cash. Credit plays a large role in the lives of these people as it did in the Philippines. And as in the Philippines, some families must rely on credit year in and year out, for they seem never able completely to pay up their obligations.

*Effects of a decreased income.* Wages of laborers on the sugar plantations in Hawaii, as well as of laborers in practically

<sup>23</sup> Half the families in Group I received less than 13 per cent of their plantation income in cash; half the families in Group II, less than 23 per cent; and half the families in Group III, less than 39 per cent.

<sup>24</sup> Family cash income averaged \$146 for Group I, \$287 for Group II, and \$454 for Group III.



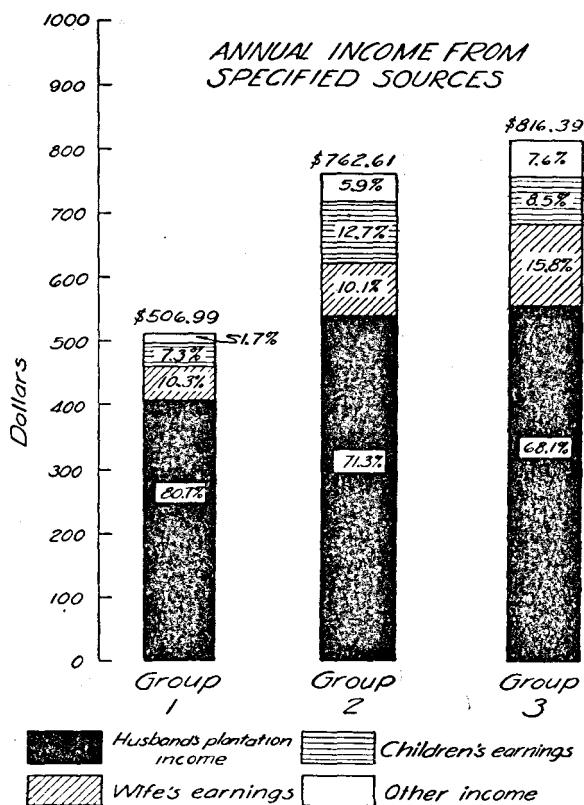


CHART I.

Annual Income From Specified Sources for Families  
Classified According to Amount Spent per Expenditure Unit.

every industry on the mainland, have fallen during the depression years. Moreover, it is a well-known fact that real wages have declined because of the increase in unemployment. The annual wages paid during the preceding four or five years on the plantation studied are not available. But statistics prepared by the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association on wage rates and income received by laborers on 38 sugar plantations show a downward trend of annual income since 1930, the annual income in 1933 amounting to 87 per cent of that in 1930, although the earnings per day were only 5 per cent less than those in 1930.<sup>25</sup>

Any gradual decrease in wages over several years is bound to work economic hardship. Obligations entered into when wages were higher must be met; old standards are adhered to or given up only slowly; in many cases going into debt is preferred to accepting a lower level of living.

The families studied were suffering from these conditions. Thirty-eight families were buying furniture or household equipment on installment purchases which had been contracted during the preceding year or years; 15 families exhausted their savings; 60 families incurred debts during the year, 23 of which were non-contract families who do not have a "big pay" to liquidate their debts; and 48 families ended the year worse off financially than at the beginning.

*Changed economic goals.* Laboring for the sake of money and what it will buy is a very different goal from that which Filipinos in their homeland have held for centuries.<sup>26</sup> There the typical farmer produces by his own labor and that of his family most of the necessities of life. He stores his rice and other food in his bamboo and nipa-grass house and draws on it when needed. Money plays only a small part in his life. A financial accounting is made only once a year when the

<sup>25</sup> Unpublished report to Governor Poindexter by the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, Appendix D.

<sup>26</sup> See Chapter II, pp. 24-6.

crops are harvested, and usually little money passes even at that time. It is true that a small amount is earned throughout the year by subsidiary occupations, but it is received at irregular intervals and plays an insignificant part in the mode of living. His farm is his world and he gathers satisfaction in seeing his crops grow and ripen. In Hawaii, by contrast, he is a labor commodity, and his efforts are sold for money and money alone. A pay envelope is received once a month and the amount of its contents determines how the family shall live—whether installment payments on large framed photographs or victrolas, beds, chairs, radios, washing machines, or even cars can be met; whether the children or parents can attend a movie; whether there is a savings account; whether money can be sent to relatives in the Philippines. His personal satisfaction is gained not in terms of traditional accomplishments, but rather of dollars and what he is enabled to buy with them, or from the savings he is able to accumulate toward the day when he will sail back to his country. Many married men and still more of the children are beginning to adapt to the local conditions and adjust their objectives of life to them.

*Perquisites furnished by the plantation.* The sugar plantations in Hawaii provide their workers with a house, water, fuel for cooking purposes, and medical service.<sup>27</sup> The quality and value of these perquisites vary with the plantation and with the labor groups, the single men receiving less than families, and the unskilled labor less than the skilled. The houses on the plantation surveyed are mostly four or five-room bungalows, situated on a plot of ground 50 to 75 or 85 feet.<sup>28</sup> Each house has a separate toilet and wash house and most houses also have separate showers. The poorest houses are assigned to the lowest-grade workers, the skilled and white-collar job employees living in houses which are better con-

<sup>27</sup> The last three perquisites are provided for all employees whose pay is \$100 per month or less. A house is provided all employees regardless of earnings.

<sup>28</sup> For a description of these houses see pp. 115 ff.

structed and provided with more convenient facilities. Single men either live with seven or eight others in four or five-room houses or live in barracks, two or three men occupying a room. Fuel for cooking is provided by the plantation—formerly wood for open fire places, now, to reduce fire hazards, kerosene for kerosene stoves.

The quality of the hospitals and of the medical service varies considerably from plantation to plantation and also from time to time on the same plantation. Most plantations, including the one of this study, have their own hospitals. A doctor and four nurses were employed full time and their services given free of charge to all the laborers and their families. A dispensary was open seven days a week where minor ailments were treated.<sup>29</sup>

Health Center food for infants and young children was provided at three-fourths the cost of the food, and to some of the poorest families free of charge.

To compare the living standards of these plantation workers with those of workers elsewhere, it is necessary to estimate the value of these perquisites.<sup>30</sup> These according to local retail prices were as follows:

Rent	\$136.04
Water	17.52
Kerosene	26.95
Medical service	21.21
Medical supplies	.69
Health Center food	7.52

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Total value per family \$209.93

No attempt is made to evaluate these services in other than monetary terms. The security which free medical service gives cannot be translated into monetary units. Likewise the degree of health attributable to the Health Center food cannot be recorded in terms of money. The only purpose of placing

<sup>29</sup> For a more detailed account of medical perquisites refer to Chapter X.

<sup>30</sup> See Appendix B, pp. 235-7, for method of arriving at value of perquisites.

a value on the perquisites is to enable approximate comparisons to be made with cost of living studies of other families who pay for all such services.

*Comparison with perquisites provided by sugar plantations in the Philippines.* The perquisites provided by the sugar plantations in Hawaii are far superior to those provided on the sugar haciendas in the Philippines. According to Runes,<sup>31</sup> it is not a universal practice for the workers living on the sugar haciendas to be provided with their houses. Of the 34 haciendas covered in his survey, 24 built houses for the laborers, but on 9 the laborers themselves constructed their own houses, while on one the laborers paid half the expense and the planter the other half. The houses are described by Runes as small two-room houses (living room and kitchen), in most cases constructed of bamboo and roofed with nipa and cogon grass. In 10 of the 34 haciendas surveyed, the houses were wooden, with galvanized iron roofing. No house was provided with a separate toilet. In fact, the use of Western-style toilets is little known in the Philippines.

On no hacienda were the laborers' quarters provided with running water, either for washing purposes or for drinking. On only three haciendas was water brought near to the laborers' houses by pipe line. On the remaining 31 haciendas the people do their washing in nearby streams and carry their drinking water from wells dug close to running brooks or rivers.

Electric light in the laborers' houses was provided on only 5 of the 34 haciendas; kerosene lamps were used in the houses on the other 29 haciendas. Fuel for cooking was provided on no hacienda, the wife and children having to gather firewood from nearby forests or fields.

On only one hacienda was there a free medical dispensary for the use of the laborers and their families; on ten plantations

<sup>31</sup> Runes, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-26.

free medical service was provided once a week when a physician visited the plantation, but the cost of the medicine was borne by the patients. On the remaining 23 haciendas no medical service of any kind was provided. Plantation hospitals were completely unknown on the 34 haciendas covered in the study.

On only one hacienda was there a public primary school. On all others, children were required to go considerable distances to school. This situation has led to a very high illiteracy rate among the unskilled laborers on the plantations.

Mr. Runes made no attempt to value in monetary terms the perquisites provided by the 34 haciendas. If such a valuation had been made, it would obviously amount to only a small fraction of the value of the perquisites in Hawaii.

The sample families thus show a wide range of income, with half of them through the combined efforts of husbands, wives, and older children earning less than \$627 annually in terms of money. The average income amounted to \$683. When the plantation perquisites are allowed for, however, such an income is seen to be equivalent to approximately \$893 in occupations where houses, medical services, and the like are not supplied.

## CHAPTER V

### SAVINGS AND INDEBTEDNESS

*Surpluses and deficits accumulated during the year.* With a background of several centuries of indebtedness to the cacique of the community in their homeland, and in a time when wages have fallen and cost of living increased, it is little wonder that some of the Filipino families in this study have incurred indebtedness out of all proportion to their ability to pay. Rather, it is noteworthy to find 53 of the 101 families studied ending the year in as good as or in better financial condition than at the beginning.

The monthly earnings of families of long-term contract workers were, in most cases, insufficient to cover their current expenses. Food, clothing and other articles were bought on credit at the plantation and at private stores by most of the families although some of the contract families drew upon savings from previous contract payments to supplement the monthly income. When the "big pay" was received, debts were paid. Money left over, in some cases, was put in the savings account, or sent to the Philippine Islands for investment in land or for the support of relatives. In other families it was used for a special celebration or for purchase of clothing or jewelry, or furniture or pictures. If the husband entered on another long-term contract the family, within a few months, again usually supplemented the monthly earnings by credit at the plantation store, from the fish vendor, the Japanese

meat market and the vegetable man. These accounts run until the next "big pay" is received. Therefore, the appearance of the balance sheet for these contract families reflects whether the "big pay" was received early or late in the year covered by the study. If it were received early, the balance left, after accounts were settled, had usually been exhausted either by purchases or by remittances to the Philippines, and new debts had been incurred; if late in the year, the family might be out of debt and have a surplus in the savings account.

A much larger proportion of contract than of non-contract families either saved or invested some of their income (37 per cent compared to 15 per cent), or paid back debts (81 per cent against 15 per cent) during the year.<sup>1</sup> The average surplus<sup>2</sup> for contract families was considerably higher than

<sup>1</sup> Twenty-six families reported savings, the amounts ranging from \$10 to \$317 and averaging \$92 for families reporting. Eighteen of the 26 families were contract families with average savings of \$104. In all but one of the 18 contract families, contract pay was received during the year and a part or all of the balance left after bills were paid was put into savings. The lone contract worker who saved without receiving his contract payment added \$10 to his account. The 8 non-contract families with savings averaged \$64.

Forty-six families paid on debts contracted before the beginning of the year. Of these, 39 were contract families and 7 non-contract. Of the 39 contract families, 32 received their "big pay" and back bills were settled at that time, averaging \$93. Of the 7 contract families not receiving their contract pay, and paying on back debts, one had received the big pay shortly before the beginning of the year covered in this study, and \$70 was paid on back debts from the pay. In four families wages were garnisheed, ranging from \$18 to \$45; and in two families there was a difference in the plantation store balance of from \$9 to \$23. Back debts for the 7 non-contract families averaged \$29.

<sup>2</sup> Surpluses include the amount of money out of the family receipts for the year that was unspent. This may have been put in a savings account, kept at home, or invested, either in Hawaii or in the Philippines. Surpluses also include the amount paid on debts which had been contracted in some previous year.

Deficits include all debts incurred during the year, and which were unpaid at the end of the year; the amount borrowed; and the amount withdrawn from savings of a previous year. Savings and investments and withdrawals from savings are net, i.e., if a family reported both savings and withdrawals from savings during the year the net amount is given. The balance of installments on automobiles or furniture which was not yet due is not included as a deficit. It was practically impossible to estimate overdue installments and these are not included as deficits although logically they should have been included.

If a family reported savings or payment of back debts, and also credit at the plantation store or some other deficit, as was true of many contract families, the



for non-contract families, \$106 contrasted to \$13. Although the deficits for the year were larger for contract than for non-contract families (\$82 and \$59), the balance sheet at the end of the year for contract families was in the black while that of non-contract families was in the red, this in spite of the fact that the year's earnings was less for contract families. Contract families averaged a net surplus of \$24 whereas non-contract families came out at the end of the year with a new deficit of \$46. The average surpluses and deficits are given in Table 8. In this table families reporting both surpluses and deficits are included in each category. In Table 9 are shown the average net surplus and deficit, secured by averaging the net surplus or deficit of each family.<sup>3</sup>

The more favorable record of contract than of non-contract families is due largely to the method by which the former group is paid. Credit at the plantation store is usually held in check by the management, and the receipt of a relatively large sum of money at one time furnishes an incentive for the wife to set aside some of it in the savings account or to send a remittance to the Philippines for investment in land. Expenditures for daily living of contract families is correspondingly lower than for non-contract families.

The nature of the deficit is markedly different for the two groups of families. Non-contract families do not have a "big pay" to look forward to out of which their debts can be paid and in general only a limited amount of credit is extended them by either the plantation or outside stores. Unpaid bills constituted only 22 per cent of their deficits; withdrawals from savings, on the other hand, furnished 75 per cent of the

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*Footnote 2—Continued*

family is included under the number reporting savings and/or payment of back debts, and also under those reporting unpaid debts or under other types of deficits.

The net deficit or surplus was obtained by securing the net deficit or surplus for each family and averaging the results for families reporting and for all families. This was necessary as 38 families reported both surpluses and deficits.

<sup>3</sup> See footnote 2 for a discussion of the meaning of the terms surplus, deficit, net surplus, and net deficit.

TABLE 8. AVERAGE SURPLUS AND DEFICIT FOR YEAR 1933-34

Surplus and Deficit	Number of Families Reporting			Average for Families Reporting			Average for all Families		
	Contract Work	Non-Contract Work	All Families	Contract Work	Non-Contract Work	All Families	Contract Work	Non-Contract Work	All Families
Total number of families	48	53	101	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total surplus	41	14	55	\$123.85	\$ 49.23	\$104.86	\$105.79	\$13.01	\$57.10
Savings or investments*	18	8	26	104.49	64.25	92.11	39.18	9.70	23.71
Payment of back debts	39	7	46	81.97	25.04	73.31	66.61	3.31	33.39
Total deficit	42	32	74	93.72	97.83	95.50	82.01	59.07	69.97
Unpaid bills	37	23	60	66.09	28.89	51.82	50.95	12.53	30.79
Borrowed	7	3	10	70.43	31.67	58.80	10.27	1.79	5.82
Drawn from savings*	10	20	30	99.81	118.57	112.32	20.79	44.75	33.36

\* Savings and investments are net, i.e., if a family reported both savings and withdrawals from savings during the year the net amount is given.

extra income used by this group. The money in the savings account had undoubtedly been saved during the years before the depression when real wages were at a higher level. Three per cent of their deficits was met by borrowing. Contract families are extended credit by the plantation and private stores, and so credit is the important source for their additional income. Unpaid bills amounted to 62 per cent of their total deficits, withdrawals from savings only 25 per cent, and borrowings 13 per cent.<sup>4</sup>

TABLE 9. NET SURPLUS AND DEFICIT FOR YEAR 1933-34

Surplus and Deficit	Number of Families			Average Net Surplus or Deficit		
	Contract Work	Non-Contract Work	All Families	Contract Work	Non-Contract Work	All Families
Average net deficit or surplus for all families	48	53	101	+\$23.78	-\$46.06	-\$12.87
Families reporting:						
Net surplus	30	12	42	119.39	49.85	99.52
Net deficit	18	30	48	135.57	101.32	114.16
Neither	—	11	11			

For figures by expenditure groups see Appendix C, Table 1, p. 238.

Net figures for the year show that 42 families spent an average of \$99 less than their income; 48 families spent, on the average, \$114 more than their income; and the income and expenditures of 11 families balanced. For the 101 families there was an average net deficit or a net increase in indebtedness of \$13.<sup>5</sup>

*Total savings since arrival in Territory.* The effort to secure a record of total savings and investments since a family's

<sup>4</sup> The amounts withdrawn from savings ranged from \$15 to \$377 and averaged \$112 for the 30 families reporting. Fifteen families closed out their accounts.

<sup>5</sup> It should be pointed out that the amount of back debts which were paid during the year and the amount of savings are closely connected with the number of long-term contract payments which were received. Normally but 55 per cent of the contract families would receive their pay in any one year, but during the year under consideration 71 per cent received their pay. Thus the surplus for contract families and for all families is larger than would normally be the case. If but 26 families had received their contract pay instead of 34, the net deficit for all families would have been around \$24 instead of \$13.

arrival in the Territory was not completely successful as questions regarding savings and investments aroused suspicion and rumors spread through the Filipino villages of the dire results that would follow if the family resources were known. It is therefore highly probable that other families beside the sixty who reported savings and investments also had some either in Hawaii or in the Philippines.

Savings in Hawaii took several different forms. Money was usually deposited in a savings account in a branch of a Honolulu bank which operates on the plantation. Some families, however, kept their money at home. One wife naively stated, "We have \$900 in the back room—in a trunk." It was with relief that the author saw this family leave a short time later for the Philippines.

Borrowing is very common between Filipinos themselves. Contrary to the principle of business loans, the Filipino will lend money to his friends or relatives without interest, often without even a surety of its return. The system of charging interest is looked upon with disfavor and is practically tabooed by the community because of the greatly abused *cacique* system of credit and loans in the homeland by which the *tao* (common people) have been victimized.<sup>6</sup> One family in the survey had withdrawn its entire savings of \$280 from the Savings Account and loaned it to a friend, at no interest. The money was returned during the year covered in this study. Several had borrowed from friends at no interest charge.

In order to raise money to accommodate an individual, the Filipinos in Hawaii have developed a mutual savings society very similar to the Japanese savings society called *tanomoshi*.<sup>7</sup> A number of workers join together, it may be three or four or ten men or more, usually from the same home community, and agree to put aside a certain amount, say \$10 apiece, each

<sup>6</sup> Cariaga, *op. cit.*

<sup>7</sup> See "The Japanese 'Tanomoshi'," *Social Process*, III, 16-19. Honolulu (1937).

month into a common fund. Each month one of the group receives the entire amount until each has received it and has recovered the money put into the venture. The Japanese *tanomoshi* charge interest, the month's collection being given to the highest bidder. Among the Filipinos, with their tradition of cooperation, no interest is charged, and the money is given to the member who has the most urgent need of it. Filipinos call their society *cumpang* (possibly derived from the word company) or, in Tagalog, *bulugan*. Three families reported belonging to a *cumpang*, and putting in \$25, \$40, and \$50 and receiving it back during the year.

Investments in local enterprises were made by several Filipino families, usually with not too promising results. In one family \$300 had been invested in a tailor shop, and \$600 of the mother's money in a barber shop. Neither investment had turned out well. The operator of the tailor shop was a second cousin and although "he is busy", has a telephone and a car, he had refused to give the family any return on their investment, or to make any payment on the principal. It was finally agreed upon that the husband in the family studied should sell orders of suits to ten men and collect the price, \$30 apiece, and in that way recover his \$300. He was having difficulty, however, in finding men who were willing to order their suits from this particular tailor shop. When the investment was made in the barber shop it was with the understanding that no return would be made within two years. The husband had apparently borrowed from it from time to time, however.

Investments in Philippine land absorb a large proportion of the laborers' savings, especially of those who hope to return and establish themselves as independent farmers. The remittance is sent to a close relative or friend who invests it for them. This gives them a feeling of security for their old age, for no matter how simple may be the living conditions in the

homeland, one can always eke out a living from the soil. Fifteen families reported making investments in land in the Philippines, averaging \$325 for the 15 families (ranging from \$50 to \$1,100), and one family sent money for the repair of a house and for taxes. These figures are approximate as it is unlikely that a complete report was secured.<sup>8</sup>

Two years after the present study was made, Cariaga visited most of the families and found several had made investments in corporations doing business in the Philippines and having representatives in Hawaii.<sup>9</sup> There was no record secured of this type of investment for the year 1933-34.

The total savings and investments reported by 60 families ranged from a few dollars to more than \$1,300, and averaged \$295. Savings averaged \$170 for all families. Half the families had more than \$60.<sup>10</sup> Families in Group II averaged the lowest amount of savings, \$97, as compared to \$150 in Group I, and \$305 in Group III.

*Total indebtedness since arrival in Territory.* The report of indebtedness is probably more reliable than that of savings and investments, as there were usually records to which one could refer. Twenty-one families reported no indebtedness of any kind, a fact worthy of note. Eight of these families are found in the lowest expenditure group, eight in Group II, and five in Group III.

Eighty families reported debts.<sup>11</sup> Forty families had debit balances at the plantation store; 39 owed other food dealers: the fish man, vegetable and ice cream vendors; 27 had bills outstanding for clothing, either for suits for the husband

<sup>8</sup> Twenty-one families reported sending an average of \$67 (range from \$2 to \$300) to the Philippines, not for investment, but for the support of relatives.

<sup>9</sup> Cariaga, *op. cit.*

<sup>10</sup> Total savings include money sent to the Philippines for investment, amounts invested in the Territory, as well as that in postal savings accounts or kept at home. Money sent to the Philippine Islands for taxes and repair of a house has not been included here.

<sup>11</sup> Total debts include unpaid balances on installment purchases.

or for jewelry for the wife; 65 families had installment balances due on furniture and musical instruments; 3 owed money to some Filipino with a car for transportation, usually to Honolulu; 8 owed on the purchase of a car or to a garage for repairs; 2 had bills for newspapers; 4 had not paid the entire amount for pigs; and 16 families had borrowed from friends or relatives and had not returned the amount as yet. These debts ranged in amount from \$2.50 to \$446 and averaged \$108 for the 80 families reporting indebtedness, and \$86 for the 101 families. As might be expected, families with the lowest level of living have incurred the most debts (\$91, \$86, \$78). Families in Group III, however, owe more on installment purchases than those in the other two expenditure groups (\$33, \$36, \$53). Total obligations are shown in Table 10.

TABLE 10. TOTAL INDEBTEDNESS SINCE ARRIVAL IN HAWAII

Item	Number of families reporting	Average amount per family reporting	Average amount for 101 families
Total indebtedness	80	\$108.31	\$85.79
Plantation store	40	32.75	12.97
Fish, vegetables and ice cream	39	38.26	14.77
Clothing and jewelry	27	24.45	6.53
Installment balances on furniture and musical instruments	65	54.72	35.21
Transportation	3	5.45	.16
Automobile: balances due on purchase and garage bills	8	86.20	6.83
Newspapers	2	7.50	.15
Pigs	4	23.88	.95
Loans	16	51.88	8.22

Filipinos appear to be easy victims of high-pressure salesmanship, and buy on the installment purchase plan when

there appears to be little prospect that monthly payments can be met regularly. Of the 65 families with installment balances on furniture and musical instruments at the end of the year, 35 families were making payments on purchases made before the beginning of the year, 16 of these 35 families made additional installment purchases during the year, and 25 families with no previous balance bought on the installment plan during the year. The balances owed ranged from \$2.50 to \$182 and averaged \$55 for the families reporting. Two families bought automobiles during the year and were paying for them by monthly payments.

*Balance between total savings and total debts.* At the end of the year 60 families reported savings or investments averaging \$295, or \$170 for the 101 families. Eighty families reported liabilities averaging \$108, or an average of \$86 for the 101 families. Thus there was a final balance on the credit side of the ledger for the 101 families amounting to an average of \$94. Fifty families reported more liabilities than assets, 43 families more assets than liabilities, 7 families neither debts nor savings, and one family a balance between debts and savings. As stated before, this is based upon incomplete information, and it is probable that the net savings are somewhat higher.



## CHAPTER VI

### EXPENDITURES—A PRELIMINARY SURVEY

The expenditures of Filipino families in Hawaii are based partly on the standards and values of the homeland, and partly on newly acquired American standards and values. Already the problem of evaluating the levels of living of such an immigrant group have been discussed.<sup>1</sup> It involves the contrast between their former subsistence living within a folk culture and their present individualistic adjustment in a commercial and industrial setting.

For the families included in this study, the total amount of goods and services "used" during the year covers not only the money expenditures, including those on credit, but also additional benefits in the form of garden produce and gifts, along with the perquisites provided by the plantation. This total averaged \$1,014 per family, of which \$779 consisted of money expenditures, \$25 the value of garden produce and gifts received by the families, and \$210 the value of goods and services provided by the plantation. This information is given in Table 11 for each of the expenditure groups as well as for all families combined.

Money expenditures for goods purchased during the year of the study (excluding savings, payment of back debts, perquisites furnished by the plantation and goods in kind), range from \$270 to \$1,750, one-fourth of the families spending less

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 6-7.

TABLE II (A). VALUE OF GROUPS OF ITEMS FOR FAMILIES CLASSIFIED IN EXPENDITURE GROUPS.

Families classified according to amount spent  
per expenditure unit: Under \$160

All groups														per expenditure unit: Under \$160					
Items	Number of families reporting money expenditures	Average for all families					Number of families reporting money expenditures	Average for all families					Total value	Percentage distribution					
		Money expenditure	Value of gar- den produce and gifts	Value of goods and services provided by plantation	Total value	Percentage distribution		Money expenditure	Value of gar- den produce and gifts	Value of goods and services provided by plantation	Total value	Percentage distribution							
Total	101	\$779.12	\$24.79	\$209.93	\$1,013.84	100.0	37	\$582.88	\$19.21	\$220.46	\$822.55	100.0							
Food	101	314.95	21.32	7.52	343.79	33.9	37	276.81	14.79	11.94	303.54	36.9							
Clothing	101	143.00	1.76	—	144.76	14.3	37	65.94	2.26	—	68.20	8.3							
Housing	101	—	—	136.04	136.04	13.4	37	—	—	139.86	139.86	17.0							
Water	101	—	—	17.52	17.52	1.7	37	—	—	18.04	18.04	2.2							
House operation	101	50.65	.02	26.95	77.62	7.6	37	42.17	.58	28.58	71.33	8.7							
Furniture and furnishings	100	35.92	.38	—	36.30	3.6	36	22.26	—	—	22.26	2.7							
Personal care	95	16.52	.03	—	16.55	1.6	34	9.20	.02	—	9.22	1.1							
Recreation	100	40.45	.46	—	40.91	4.0	37	25.58	.31	—	25.89	3.1							
Funerals and celebrations	65	23.19	—	—	23.19	2.3	24	15.34	—	—	15.34	1.9							
Automobiles	15	20.54	—	—	20.54	2.0	1	1.93	—	—	1.93	.2							
Bus, train & street car transp.	52	9.94	.82	—	10.76	1.1	13	1.86	1.25	—	3.11	.4							
Bicycles	2	.82	—	—	.82	.1	—	—	—	—	—	—							
Dental and medical care	63	4.95	—	21.90	26.85	2.6	19	1.56	—	22.04	23.60	2.9							
Education	77	7.83	—	—	7.83	.8	32	3.76	—	—	3.76	.5							
Community welfare	101	10.71	—	—	10.71	1.1	37	9.17	—	—	9.17	1.1							
Gifts to relatives & friends	61	14.89	—	—	14.89	1.5	18	14.13	—	—	14.13	1.7							
Chickens, ducks & pigeons	56	19.85	—	—	19.85	2.0	19	9.67	—	—	9.67	1.2							
Pigs	6	2.62	—	—	2.62	.3	3	2.82	—	—	2.82	.3							
Others	20	1.04	—	—	1.04	.1	9	1.02	—	—	1.02	.1							
Insurance	14	4.15	—	—	4.15	.4	4	.51	—	—	.51	.1							
Back debts paid	46	33.39	—	—	33.39	3.3	20	50.82	—	—	50.82	6.2							
Savings	26	23.71	—	—	23.71	2.3	10	28.33	—	—	28.33	3.4							
Total deficits:	74	69.97	—	—	—	—	29	69.07	—	—	—	—							
Store bills	60	30.79	—	—	—	—	26	45.21	—	—	—	—							
Borrowed	10	5.82	—	—	—	—	3	2.24	—	—	—	—							
Withdrawn from savings	30	33.36	—	—	—	—	6	21.62	—	—	—	—							

The amount paid in instalments on furniture, musical instruments and automobiles, both on purchases made before the year (averaging \$14.33), and on purchases made during the year (averaging \$15.67), are included under expenditures. If payments on purchases bought on the installment plan are excluded (averaging \$30.00 per family), and the purchase price of the articles bought during the year included (averaging \$42.60 per family), the average value of living would be \$1026.44.

TABLE 11 (B). VALUE OF GROUPS OF ITEMS FOR FAMILIES CLASSIFIED IN EXPENDITURE GROUPS.—*Concluded*

Families classified according to amount spent per expenditure unit

Items		\$160-\$259						\$260 and over					
		Average for all families						Average for all families					
		Number of families reporting money expenditures	Money expenditure	Value of garden produce and gifts	Value of goods and services provided by plantation	Total value	Percentage distribution	Number of families reporting money expenditures	Money expenditure	Value of garden produce and gifts	Value of goods and services provided by plantation	Total value	Percentage distribution
Total		38	\$854.42	\$20.02	\$200.74	\$1,075.18	100.0	26	\$949.87	\$40.75	\$207.15	\$1,197.77	100.0
Food		38	338.52	18.00	6.22	362.74	33.7	26	334.79	35.84	2.77	373.40	31.1
Clothing		38	175.06	1.17	—	176.23	16.4	26	205.79	1.90	—	207.69	17.3
Housing		38	—	—	132.24	132.24	12.3	26	—	—	136.15	136.15	11.3
Water		38	—	—	16.90	16.90	1.6	26	—	—	16.90	16.90	1.4
House operation		38	55.36	—	27.12	82.48	7.7	26	55.83	—	24.29	80.12	6.7
Furniture and furnishings		38	36.42	.52	—	36.94	3.4	26	54.65	.71	—	55.36	4.6
Personal care		36	19.26	.04	—	19.30	1.8	25	22.94	.04	—	22.98	1.9
Recreation		37	42.42	.29	—	42.71	4.0	26	58.75	.90	—	59.65	5.0
Funerals and celebrations		25	28.02	—	—	28.02	2.6	16	27.31	—	—	27.31	2.3
Automobiles		6	13.29	—	—	13.29	1.2	8	57.64	—	—	57.64	4.8
Bus, train & street car transp.		22	13.41	—	—	13.41	1.2	17	16.38	1.36	—	17.74	1.5
Bicycles		2	2.17	—	—	2.17	.2	—	—	—	—	—	—
Dental and medical care		25	5.90	—	18.26	24.16	2.2	19	8.38	—	27.04	35.42	3.0
Education		28	4.44	—	—	4.44	.4	17	18.58	—	—	18.58	1.6
Community welfare		38	11.68	—	—	11.68	1.1	26	12.95	—	—	12.95	1.1
Gifts to relatives & friends		28	14.11	—	—	14.11	1.3	15	17.14	—	—	17.14	1.4
Chickens, ducks & pigeons		20	18.82	—	—	18.82	1.8	17	35.84	—	—	35.84	3.0
Pigs		2	2.85	—	—	2.85	.3	1	2.00	—	—	2.00	.2
Others		11	1.76	—	—	1.76	.2	—	—	—	—	—	—
Insurance		6	2.67	—	—	2.67	.2	4	11.48	—	—	11.48	1.0
Back debts paid		20	34.11	—	—	34.11	3.2	6	7.54	—	—	7.54	.6
Savings		13	34.15	—	—	34.15	3.2	3	1.88	—	—	1.88	.2
Total deficits		25	57.79	—	—	—	—	20	89.05	—	—	—	—
Store bills		22	26.57	—	—	—	—	12	16.42	—	—	—	—
Borrowed		5	10.00	—	—	—	—	2	4.81	—	—	—	—
Withdrawn from savings		11	21.22	—	—	—	—	13	67.82	—	—	—	—

than \$481 in the year, half less than \$661, and three-fourths less than \$892. In expenditure per adult male, families range from \$78 to \$612, one-fourth of the families spending less than \$150 per adult male, half less than \$204, and three-fourths less than \$234.<sup>2</sup>

TABLE 12. PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL VALUE OF LIVING  
FOR GROUPS OF ITEMS

Families classified according to amount  
spent per expenditure unit.

Items	Under \$160	\$160 to \$259	\$260-over
Money value of all items	\$822.55	\$1,075.18	\$1,197.77
	<i>Percentages</i>		
All items	100.0	100.0	100.0
✓ Food	36.9	33.7	31.1
✓ Clothing	8.3	16.4	17.3
Housing	17.0	12.3	11.3
✓ Household operation*	10.9	9.3	8.1
✓ Furniture and furnishings	2.7	3.4	4.6
Personal care	1.1	1.8	1.9
✓ Recreation	3.1	4.0	5.0
✓ Funerals and celebrations	1.9	2.6	2.6
Automobiles	.2	1.2	4.8
Bus, train, and street car transportation	.4	1.2	1.5
Bicycles	—	.2	—
Insurance	.1	.2	1.0
Dental and medical care	2.9	2.2	3.0
Education	.5	.4	1.6
✓ Community welfare	1.1	1.1	1.1
✓ Gifts	1.7	1.3	1.4
Chickens	1.2	1.8	3.0
Pigs	.3	.3	.2
Other	.1	.2	—
✓ Back debts paid	6.2	3.2	.6
✓ Savings	3.4	3.2	.2

\* Includes water.

<sup>2</sup> Group I consists of 37 families with expenditures per adult male of \$78 to \$159; Group II of 38 families with expenditures per adult male of \$160 to \$259; Group III, 26 families of \$260 to \$612. See Appendix A, pp. 231-4 for method of computing expenditure per adult male.

Comparison of the three expenditure groups shows that the money value of the various items in the budget goes up for every item with each higher expenditure group, but this increase is not proportional (Table 12). For the following items the percentage of the total value of living decreases: food, housing, household operation, and pigs. For the following the percentage ranking increases: clothing, furniture and furnishings, personal care, recreation, celebrations, automobiles, other transportation, insurance, and chickens. The trend is irregular in the case of dental and medical care, education, and gifts, and is the same for community welfare. This is graphically presented in Chart 2 on page 86.

Attention should also be called here again to the fact that savings and payment of back debts constitute a higher percentage of the value of family living in Group I than in Groups II or III. On the other hand, the total deficits accumulated during the year are highest in Group III. As was noted in Chapter V, the higher proportion of contract families in Group I than in II or III is largely responsible for this situation.

It appears likely that since the summer of 1934 real income of plantation workers has increased somewhat. As a result of the Sugar Act of 1937 wages of unskilled labor on the plantation studied were increased 5 per cent on September 1st, 1937. Another slight additional increase in wages was made in 1938.

The increase in wages between 1934 and 1939 has been offset to some extent by an increase in the cost of living in the Territory. The amount of the increase, however, can only be approximated as the Hawaiian Islands are not included in the cost of living index figures published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor. In order to estimate the amount of increase in the cost of the various items in the Filipino budget, prices of most of the items of food, of soap and other kitchen supplies, of work clothes and personal supplies, such as hair oil, were priced at the plantation store during the summer of 1939. Changes in retail food prices in

# PROPORTION SPENT FOR DIFFERENT BUDGET ITEM/ BY FAMILIES/ IN THREE EXPENDITURE GROUP/

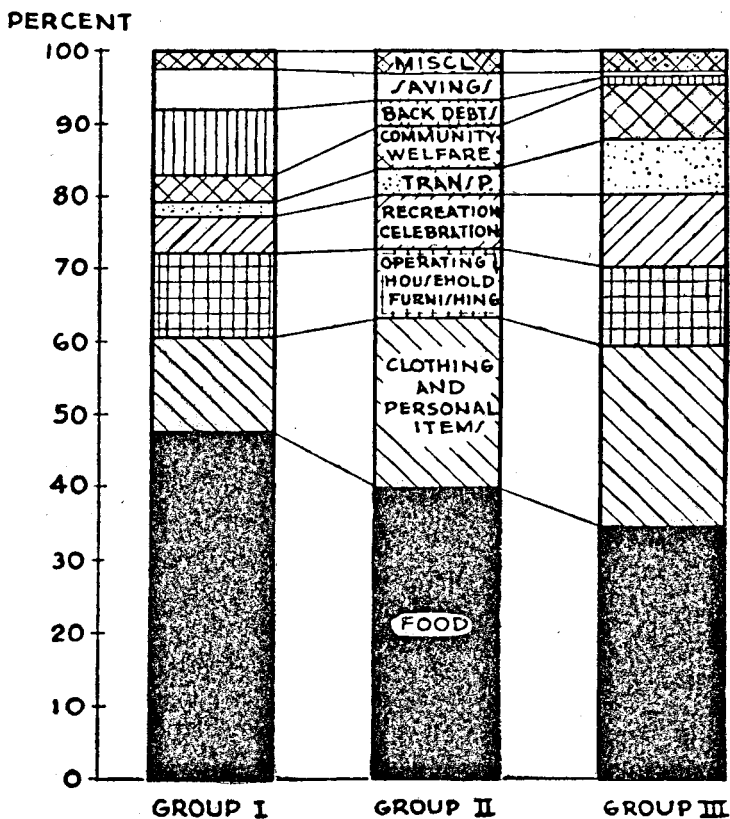


CHART 2.

Proportion Spent for Different Budget Items by Families  
Classified According to Amount Spent per Expenditure Unit.

Honolulu are included in the food index figures published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics and are also used in estimating the percentage change in cost of food.

The costs of the different items in the Filipino budget have not increased in this period at the same rate. It is estimated that between 1934 and 1939 there was an increase of 1.6 per cent in cost of the food consumed in 1934; 2.1 per cent in cost of the clothing worn by the Filipinos; 10.6 per cent in cost of furniture and furnishings; 1.6 per cent in cost of funerals and celebrations, and no change of any significance in cost of other items in their budget.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> During the five years between the summers of 1934 and 1939, certain food prices rose while others remained stationary or fell slightly in the Territory. The chief increase occurred in the case of meats; but rice, on the other hand, declined 22 per cent, with the result that food consumed during the 28 days in the summer of 1934, for which detailed figures were secured, when repriced in August, 1939, would have cost only 1.6 per cent more. In making the adjustment between 1934 and 1939, the 1939 food prices are based for most foods upon prices at the plantation store; for all other items of food, the amount of change is based upon the percentage change in price published for Honolulu by the U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Retail Price Division, for July, 1934, and June, 1939. Mimeographic reports.

The index figure for clothing increased for the United States as a whole 4.2 per cent between June, 1934, and March, 1939. It appears unlikely, however, that the expenditure for clothing by Filipino families has increased as much for it was found that the work clothes for men, sold at the plantation store, amounting to 18.6 per cent of the family's clothing expenditure, were no higher in price in 1939 than in 1934. Moreover, Japanese imported yard goods were frequently purchased for dresses for the women and children, and this material increased but little during this period. For these reasons an increase of about 2 per cent has been applied to the clothing expenditures.

There has been little, if any, change in costs of items on the plantation included under house operation. There has been no increase in electric light rates, or in the price of soap, cleaning supplies, or cooking fuel at the plantation store.

The cost of household furnishings has increased 10.6 per cent for the United States. Since either the finished product or the raw material is imported from the mainland, it is probable that a corresponding increase in price of furniture sold in retail stores in Honolulu has also taken place.

There has been little, if any, increase in the cost of items under personal care. The same is true for items under recreation, transportation, bicycles, insurance, dental and medical care, education, community welfare, gifts to relatives and friends, chickens and other fowls, and pigs, and all other miscellaneous items. Since the chief expenditure for celebrations is food, this item in the budget would probably cost 1.6 per cent more in 1939 than in 1934. It is probable that the cost of owning and operating an automobile was about the same in 1939 as in 1934. There has been a shift in taxation, the license tax lowered, and the tax on gasoline increased, with the supposition that the two changes balance each other for most automobile users.

The increase in cost of living between the summers of 1934 and 1939 for the Filipino families was probably about \$12.00, 1.2 per cent of their value of living, or 1.6 per cent of their money expenditures. This is a smaller increase than occurred in the index figures for the United States as a whole (4.1 per cent), or for Los Angeles (6.9 per cent).<sup>4</sup> This is accounted for by the peculiar distribution of the expenditures of the Filipino families and the goods and services furnished them by the plantation.

Although the real income for the workers remaining on the plantations was somewhat higher in 1939 than in 1934, the decrease in employment on the plantations accompanying the increase in technology has raised critical problems of unemployment for the Territory. These would have been more acute but for the return to the Philippines of a large proportion of Filipino laborers no longer required by the Hawaii plantations.

*Comparison with level of living of families in the rural Philippines.* Reckoned in terms of money the level of living of the Filipino families in this study appears to be very much higher than that of farmer families or of families on the sugar haciendas in the Philippines. The value of living of 86 Ilocano families studied in 1935 by Lava was estimated at 257 pesos.<sup>5</sup> It must be kept in mind, however, that no money evaluation has been attempted for such non-commercialized aspects of life in the Philippines as the traditional sports, rituals, folk music and dancing, and neighbor and kin social activities that do not involve money expenditures. Even the all-important fiestas, those given by peasant families and kin groups, and those traditionally given by the cacique families and shared in by the peasantry, have not been included in the

<sup>4</sup> Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Monthly Labor Review*, Vol. 50, No. 1 (Jan. 1940), United States Department of Labor, Washington, pp. 141, 142, 146.

<sup>5</sup> The peso is worth approximately fifty cents.



estimates. Before any fair comparisons could be made these and other similar non-commercialized factors would have to be given a money appraisal.

Lava found that 42 per cent of the total value of living of the 86 Ilocano families was produced in kind as contrasted to 25 per cent in this study. This difference is indicative of the difference in mode of living; it does not indicate a lower level of living. According to Lava, one-third of the rice, one-third of the fish, and half of the fruits and vegetables were grown or gathered by the Ilocano families. One-third of the value of clothing, half the value of the house, and two-thirds the value of miscellaneous articles (petroleum for lighting, charcoal, soap, water, taxes, matches, and tobacco) were also produced by the family.<sup>6</sup>

Lacking in Lava's list of expenditures are all the items listed in this study under personal care, recreation, transportation, insurance, dental and medical care, though, as has been seen, the traditional culture provides them to some extent in non-commercialized forms. Lacking too are gifts to relatives and friends. He found that food comprised 62 per cent of the family expenditure; clothing, 6 per cent; shelter, 8 per cent; education, 4 per cent; and miscellaneous items which include operating expenses, taxes, and tobacco, 20 per cent.<sup>7</sup>

Runes estimates the annual money expenditures of typical families living on sugar haciendas in the Philippines (1938) to be 185 pesos.<sup>8</sup> Since he fails to ascribe a value to food

<sup>6</sup> Cloth is woven by members of the families out of yarn and this labor was ascribed one-third the value of clothing; half the value of the house was estimated to have been produced by the labor of the family when it was built; the cost of fuel, water, and charcoal was estimated at the amount the family would have paid someone else to get it—i.e., to draw the water from the well and to gather the wood. Tobacco was usually raised by the families themselves. Lava, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-56.

<sup>7</sup> Lava made no estimate of yearly expenses for household furnishings and equipment. These were found by Runes in his study of families living on sugar haciendas. It is certain too that there were expenditures by the Ilocano families for money gifts to others as well as gifts in kind, particularly in connection with *fiestas*. Runes, *op. cit.*, pp. 20, 21.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

raised or gathered or received in gifts, or a value to the weaving of cloth or to other items produced by the family, or to the family's living quarters provided by the plantation, the total value of living arrived at is not comparable to that of Lava's or to the value of living of the families in this study. Runes found that food comprised 82 per cent of the money expenditures of the typical family in his study; clothing, 11 per cent; and miscellaneous items (household operating expenses, transportation, contributions, tobacco, intoxicating drinks, and losses in gambling), 7 per cent.

If a value had been ascribed to the perquisites provided by the plantations in the Philippines, it would undoubtedly amount to only a small fraction of the value of perquisites provided in Hawaii. Lacking completely from such a list of perquisites provided by sugar haciendas in the Philippines would be water, cooking fuel, and medical service; the value of the house provided by the haciendas would, moreover, be considerably less than the value ascribed to the houses in Hawaii.<sup>9</sup>

In view of the difficulties of comparing two systems of life where so much has not been rendered into comparable units, the writer merely submits as her opinion that on the evidence examined the Filipino families in Hawaii have more comfort and convenience on a material plane and more adequate dietary, health, and educational facilities in Hawaii than in the Philippines. They have more money to spend on clothing, personal care, recreation, transportation, and community pleasure. Whether this means that these are more richly supplied than in the Philippines where they are not secured in commercial forms cannot be shown by such a study as this. The fact that many families consider Hawaii only an interval in their lives which will help them gain the inde-

<sup>9</sup> See pp. 115 ff. for a description of houses provided by sugar haciendas in the Philippines.

pendence of a peasant proprietor when they return indicates that the advantages in Hawaii do not fulfill the main objectives of their lives. No worker's job on a plantation in Hawaii today is secure. He may run afoul of the rules and regulations of the plantation, or the increasing mechanization of the industry may cost him his job almost without warning. The relatively high plane of material living conditions in Hawaii, compared to that in the Philippines, does not compensate, with many workers, for the insecurity of the job, and for the other non-material or non-commercial factors enriching life in the Philippines.

## CHAPTER VII

### FOOD<sup>1</sup>

The diet of the Filipino families in this study is influenced on the one hand by the traditional diet in their homeland and on the other by the type of food available in Hawaii.

<sup>1</sup> In this chapter two food scales have been used. The food scale adopted before the food was analyzed is based upon the scale recommended by the League of Nations (see p. 231), as this corresponded to the scale then in use at the Social Service Bureau in Honolulu for determining food allowances for dependent Oriental families, with the exception of children under 3 years of age. Children under 3 years were allowed a slightly higher proportion in the Social Service Bureau scale than in the League of Nations scale.

The League of Nations food scale was used in computing family expenditures per expenditure unit, according to which families were classified in the three expenditure unit groups.

When the food was analyzed, however, the League of Nations scale was found to be too low for children under six years of age because of the influence of Health Center food on the relative costs of food for the different age groups. The League of Nations food scale for all persons 6 years of age and over, and the modified food scale for children under 6 years, were used in computing the value of food consumed per food expenditure unit. See Appendix A, p. 232 for the modified food scale.

In the first part of the chapter, dealing with food expenditures, pp. 92-102, families were classified first, into the three expenditure unit groups which have been used throughout the entire study. Secondly, the value of the food consumed per food expenditure unit was computed. This is based upon the money value of the food, divided by the number of food expenditure units, computed with the modified food scale.

In the second part of the chapter dealing with dietary analysis, pp. 102-9, families have been classified according to value of food consumed per food expenditure unit, the same modified food scale used as in the first part of the chapter. The three food expenditure groups are Food Group I, composed of families spending less than \$75 per food expenditure unit; Food Group II, including those spending from \$75 to \$99 per food expenditure unit; and Food Group III composed of those spending \$100 and over per food expenditure unit.

At the time of this study all but one of the 101 families used two-burner kerosene stoves. Originally the plantation provided a brick-lined fireplace or hearth raised on a wooden support which was placed in the kitchen, and furnished firewood. This was still used by one family. Several years ago, both to reduce the fire hazard and because of scarcity of firewood, the plantation management required these families to provide themselves with kerosene stoves, the plantation continuing to supply the fuel for cooking. Metal pots and pans which have been deeply blackened over the kerosene stoves are used in this way because, the wives explain, they resemble the blackened earthen pots of the homeland. It is significant that only four of the families studied used an ice box. The custom of preserving food by drying or highly seasoning it as well as the cost of the ice undoubtedly accounts for this.

The diet of the Filipinos in Hawaii includes many foods which are unknown to other racial groups. Breakfast usually consists of rice and cocoa or coffee, always with *shoyu*<sup>2</sup> on the rice; the noon and evening meals are often of rice and meat stew cooked with various kinds of vegetables, or there may be rice, fish, and a vegetable or sweet potatoes with *shoyu* and *bagoong*.<sup>3</sup> In many families the custom of all members eating at the same time is not followed. Children were frequently observed eating a sweet potato while playing out in the street; husbands, after returning from the fields in the afternoon, were often seen standing in the kitchen helping

<sup>2</sup> *Shoyu*, or soy sauce, is a clear brown liquid used as an essential condiment in Japanese (and Filipino) cookery. It has a pleasant aromatic odor and peculiar taste. *Shoyu* contains considerable sodium chloride, and dishes in which it is used require no additional salt. Carey D. Miller, *Japanese Foods Commonly Used in Hawaii*. (Hawaii Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin, No. 68.) Honolulu, 1933, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> The following description of *bagoong* is given by F. T. Adriano and M. S. De Guzman: "*Bagoong alamang* is made from small shrimps and young or small fishes. In many homes it is a staple food while in others it is used only to flavor many dishes. *Bagoong* is produced in large quantities and of various kinds in the Ilocano provinces and in some of the Visayan Islands." "The Proximate Chemical Analysis of Some Philippine Food Products," *The Philippine Agriculturist*, 20, 583. (University of the Philippines, 1922.)

themselves to food from the various pots found on the stove or table. Obviously such habits require few plates and knives and forks. They also account for the untidy appearance of the kitchens with partly filled pots and dirty dishes left on the table or piled in the sink.

The fresh meats most frequently purchased by the families during the four weeks they were visited include pork, bacon, stew meat, hamburger, soup bone, Bologna sausage, heart, liver, and tripe. Fresh meat ranged in price from 10 cents a pound for soup bone and 15 cents a pound for stew to 50 cents a pound for pork. As much was spent on fresh chicken, costing from 30 to 40 cents a pound, as on fresh beef, which cost 25 cents a pound. Canned meat was used with surprising frequency, especially when its relatively high cost is considered.<sup>4</sup> Sausage, corned beef, dried beef, and ham were the usual canned meat purchases, though canned chicken was reported by a few families.

More was spent by the families on fresh fish than on fresh meat except by families spending a relatively high amount on their food, where the reverse was true. In addition to the fishes ordinarily sold in the Honolulu markets, octopus, clams, cod fish, shrimp, and crab were also frequently eaten. Most of the fish cost from 25 to 40 cents a pound. Use of canned fish was also reported. Abalone, deep sea shell fish, clams, cuttle fish, crab, octopus, salmon, sardines, shrimp, scallops, tuna fish, and tempura<sup>5</sup> were purchased in cans. Dried cod fish, hibe,<sup>6</sup> which is a dried shrimp, and iriko, a small dried fish about two or three inches long, were frequently used. During the food inventories, the weighing and recording of

<sup>4</sup> Canned sausage, the canned meat most frequently purchased, cost twenty-five cents for twelve ounces.

<sup>5</sup> Tempura in this form is a fish cake, not the usual deep-fried fish of Japanese restaurants.

<sup>6</sup> Known as *ebi* in the Hawaiian Islands. "Salt water shrimp ranging from 2 to 5 centimeters long are cooked in a small amount of water. The skin and other non-edible parts are removed and the cooked shrimps sun dried." F. T. Adriano and M. S. De Guzman, *op. cit.*, p. 584.

dried cod fish always provoked an embarrassed laugh from the housewife as it is considered food eaten by the poor. Salted sea foods commonly served are clams, shrimp, and prepared *bagoong* from the Philippine Islands; and *bagoong* made in Hawaii from a small fresh fish about two inches long, vinegar, salt, and *shoyu*.

Non-leafy vegetables<sup>7</sup> reported in use were tomatoes, green string beans, small eggplant, onion, pechay (h),<sup>8</sup> garlic, and white and sweet potatoes. A variety of green leafy vegetables were purchased or gathered, many of them peculiar to the Filipino: agbati (a), ampalaya leaves (b), bean shoots, cabbage, camongay leaves (c), cankong (d), catuday flowers (e), egg plant leaves, green pepper leaves, okra leaves, potato leaves, pumpkin flowers, seaweed, spinach, squash leaves and flowers, taro shoots, turnip leaves, and watercress. Other fresh vegetables noted include ampalaya fruit (b), camongay fruit (c), carrots, chili peppers, cucumbers, ginger, green peppers, lettuce, lima beans, mung bean sprouts, okra, paleang (f), patola (g), peas, pumpkins, radishes, sinkamas root (i), yellow, white, and green squash, sweet corn, taro, called gabi (k) by the Filipinos, and ubi or sweet potato (j). Most of

<sup>7</sup> The common and scientific names of Filipino vegetables frequently used in the Hawaiian Islands are:

<i>Filipino Name</i>	<i>Common Name</i>	<i>Scientific Name</i>
(a) Agbati		
(b) Ampalaya	Bitter squash	Momordica-charantia
(c) Camongay	Horseradish tree	Moringa oleifera
(d) Cankong	Swamp cabbage	Ipomoea aquatica
(e) Catuday	White shower	Sesbania grandiflora
(f) Paleang Pal-long	Goa or winged bean	Psophocarpus tetragonolobus
(g) Patola	Dishcloth or sponge gourd	Luffa cylindrica or Luffa acutangula
(h) Pechay	Chinese white mustard cabbage	Brassica chinensis
(i) Sinkamas	Yam bean root	Pachyrrhizus erosus
(j) Ubi	Yam	Dioscorea alata or Dioscorea batatas
(k) Gabi	Taro	Colocasia esculenta

Nutrition Laboratory, University of Hawaii, Honolulu.

<sup>8</sup> The letters refer to the classification of vegetables in footnote 7.

the leafy vegetables cost 5 cents a bunch, weighing from 1 to 1½ pounds, and most of the non-leafy vegetables cost 10 cents a pound. Irish potatoes cost 2½ cents a pound, and sweet potatoes 2 cents a pound, or if purchased in bags of 140 pounds, as was sometimes done, cost 9/10 of a cent per pound.

A variety of dried beans were included on the bill-of-fare, among them the black-eyed bean, mung bean, and lima bean. These ranged in price from 7 to 10 cents a pound. Dried seaweeds were purchased by a number of families. Canned vegetables were used less frequently than fresh, although the following were noted: baked beans, bamboo shoots, corn, peas, and tomatoes.

The fresh fruits most generally eaten were bananas and coconuts. Other fresh fruits were reported in use in small quantities; these included apples, avocados, banana hearts, lemons, papayas, pineapples, oranges, and watermelons. Canned peaches and dried prunes were purchased in several instances.

Canned milk was usually purchased in boxes of four dozen six-ounce cans for \$1.65 to \$1.70 a case. When ice cream was eaten, it was usually between meals in the form of a cone or chocolate-covered squares on sticks.

The use of butter was reported by only one-fifth of the families. For cooking fats crisco, snowdrift, lard made from pork, and salad oil were used. Peanut butter was frequently eaten.

Several kinds of sugar were noted: the refined white sugar, a cheaper grade of sugar sold by the local sugar mills known as washed sugar, brown sugar, and palinang—a brown sugar imported from the Philippine Islands. Jelly, preserves, and canned syrup were also used.

The beverages drunk by the families included tea, coffee, postum, and cocoa. A cocoa already prepared and selling in 3-pound packages was a usual purchase. A Chinese tea,



packed in 1-11/15-ounce packages selling three for 10 cents was more widely used than any other kind, though a half-pound 40-cent tin sold by an American firm, an English tea costing 30 cents a pound, and a Japanese tea costing 40 cents a pound were also in use. Coffee was usually purchased in pound packages at 30 cents a pound.

Rice is the basic food for the Filipinos. Japanese rice was sold to the families in 100-pound bags, at \$4.75 or \$5.00 a bag. Hawaiian rice, locally grown, was slightly cheaper and was bought by several families, also in 100-pound bags. Mochi rice, used in making sweet cakes, was usually bought in three and a half pound bags at 25 cents a pound and substituted for Japanese rice on special occasions. "Long-rice" which is not a rice, but is made from a legume, comes in four-ounce five-cent packages and is cooked with a vegetable stew. A rice flour, sold in twelve-ounce packages at "four for a quarter" was used in making rice cakes.

Starch in the diets of most families comes not only from rice but from bread and either rolled oats or flaked wheat. The rolled oats and flaked wheat were purchased in three-pound packages. A few families also reported the use of corn flakes, cream of wheat, and puffed rice. Crackers, either salted, soda, or graham, were found in most homes, and also noodles, macaroni, and spaghetti. Flour is kept on hand and a few families make their own bread, but as most families do not have ovens, the bread is purchased and flour is used for thickening foods.

The Filipino families use large amounts of relishes. Shoyu is always poured over the rice. Tomato sauce, purchased in eight-ounce cans, six for 25 cents, was found in most homes. Other relishes include bagoong, catsup, chili pepper, chop sui soy, sweet pickles, pimentos, octopus relish, bean sauce, fish relish, chow chow, and mayonnaise.

Found in the homes at the time of the food inventories or purchased during the four-week period of visits were the

following condiments: anise seed, cinnamon, cinnamon bark, curry powder, ginger, mustard, nutmeg, pepper, salt, whole spice, whole bay leaves, sage, cloves, sesame seed, and paprika.

In May, 1931, a Health Center was opened on the plantation, the first of its kind in the Territory. A little over a year later there were four "centers" in operation on the plantation, located in the different plantation villages. These Centers prepare twenty-four hour feedings for infants under one year of age, and noon feedings for pre-school children. Enrollment of the children in the Health Center is voluntary with parents. A fee of \$1 per month per child is charged; an additional charge is made for extra food over the amount allowed for the \$1 enrollment fee. Practically all Filipino families with infants on the plantation were enrolled in the Health Center, although some families with pre-school children did not have the noon Health Center meal provided them because of the extra cost. There were no families in the present study with babies under one year of age who were not enrolled in the Health Center.

The food for infants includes the milk, to which has been added poi and cane juice syrup, and a meat-vegetable-poi soup. The older children are served poi, sweet potato, vegetables, fruit, and milk. The twenty-four hour feedings are put up in bottles ready for use, and are distributed at 11:00 a.m. At that time the older children in the family may be sent to the Health Center to take home the bottles, but more frequently the mothers come themselves, and stay to visit with each other. The pre-school children are served their noon meal at the Center.<sup>9</sup>

Because 11 families were unable to purchase all the Health Center food considered necessary for their children, they received free Health Center food in addition to that which they were buying. Thirteen families sent their four and five-year

<sup>9</sup> Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, *Research Health Project*. (Bulletin No. 1). Honolulu, 1934.

old children to the kindergarten, and paid \$1 a month for their noon meal, which was similar to that fed the younger children. Twenty-four families paid for school cafeteria lunches which were also patterned after Health Center menus. All other families sent their children to school with lunches prepared at home. The undernourished children of 11 families were provided with a free mid-morning lunch at school, consisting of milk and poi. Only two of the five families sending children to Honolulu to school provided them with lunch money, the other children carrying their lunches from home.

The total value of food consumed during the year by the families ranged from \$124 to \$707 and averaged \$344.<sup>10</sup> This is shown in Table 13. In general, families in the lowest expenditure group spent the least per food expenditure unit on their food, and those in Group III spent the most, although there were families in Group I spending a relatively high amount, and some families in Group II spending a low

<sup>10</sup> Figures representing the total value of food consumed during the year include expenditures on food eaten in the home, or carried by the men to work, Health Center food, school lunches, meals purchased away from home, and food eaten between meals, principally candy, soft drinks, and ice cream. It also includes a value placed upon garden produce, eggs, and chickens eaten during the year, gifts of food, and Health Center food furnished free. The total value of Health Center food includes the entire cost of the food to the plantation, three-fourths the cost being paid by the families and one-fourth by the plantation.

The amount spent for Health Center food and school cafeteria food was secured from the school records. The estimated cost of meals purchased away from home and food eaten between meals is based upon expenditures during the four weeks' period. The amount spent by the 2 families reporting expenditures on lunches for their children who were attending school in Honolulu was secured for the entire school year. The value placed upon home grown produce, including chickens and eggs, is based upon the records secured during the 4 weeks for the garden produce, and annual records for chickens and eggs. A chicken was assumed to weigh three pounds and to cost 35 cents a pound, and eggs to cost 36 cents a dozen. This amounted to an average of 40 cents for families in Group I, 50 cents for those in Group II and 84 cents for those in Group III. Home grown food was valued at the regular retail prices. The value placed on gifts of food is likewise based on the 4 weeks' record. The amount of food furnished free by the Health Center was taken from the Health Center records.

TABLE 13. COST OF FOOD PURCHASED AND VALUE OF HOME GROWN PRODUCE AND GIFTS OF FOOD CONSUMED DURING YEAR

Items	Food purchased			Food home grown			Gifts of food			Total value of food		
	Average			Average			Average			Average		
	Number report- ing	Cost per family	Cost for all families	Number report- ing	Value per family	Value for all families	Number report- ing	Value per family	Value for all families	Number report- ing	Value per family	Value for all families
Total cost or value	101	\$314.95	\$314.95	76	\$22.87	\$17.21	90	\$13.05	\$11.63	101	\$343.79	\$343.79
Meals at home	101	288.86	288.86	76	22.87	17.21	44	9.33	4.06	101	309.93	309.93
Health Center food	71	17.43	12.25	—	—	—	{ 71 11	{ 6.57* 15.00†	6.25	71	26.32	18.50
Meals purchased away from home	16	8.45	1.34	—	—	—	—	—	—	16	8.45	1.34
School Cafeteria	24	9.10	2.16	—	—	—	—	—	—	24	9.10	2.16
School mid-morning lunches	—	—	—	—	—	—	11	11.64	1.27	11	11.64	1.27
Honolulu School lunches	2	72.50	1.44	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	72.50	1.44
Food eaten between meals	86	10.69	9.10	—	—	—	3	1.52	.05	86	12.21	9.15

\* Cost of Health Center food paid by the plantation.

† Health Center food supplied free.

amount.<sup>11</sup> Thirty-six families spent for the entire year less than \$75 per food expenditure unit, 32 families between \$75 and \$99 per food expenditure unit, and 33 families, \$100 and over.<sup>12</sup> The 101 families averaged \$95 per food expenditure unit.<sup>13</sup>

The 36 families reporting a value for food of less than \$75 a year per food expenditure unit represent a decided deficiency in food expenditures according to the food standard in use in 1934 by the Social Service Bureau (Honolulu) for Oriental families. This group spent less than the temporary relief allowance of the Social Service Bureau at that time. Moreover, the food analysis by Miss Jones shows the diet of this group to be short in certain food essentials.<sup>14</sup> These 36 families were, on the whole, the larger and poorer families.

Not only did families in Groups II and III spend more on their food, but they raised more garden produce than families in the lowest expenditure group. The average value of home grown food for the year (including eggs and chickens) increased from \$10 for families in Expenditure Group I, to \$16 for those in Group II, and \$29 for those in Group III. Forty-

<sup>11</sup> The average value of food consumed during the year amounts to \$304 for families in Group I, \$364 for those in Group II, and \$373 for those in Group III. The difference between the three expenditure groups is more marked if the value per food expenditure unit is computed. Group I represents a total of 147.6 food expenditure units, Group II, 139.9, and Group III, 78.0. Therefore, the total value of food amounts to \$76 per food expenditure unit for families in Group I, \$99 for those in Group II, and \$125 for those in Group III, an average of \$95 for all families.

<sup>12</sup> Of the families spending under \$75 per food expenditure unit, 25 were in Group I, and 11 in Group II; of those spending between \$75 and \$99 per food expenditure unit, 11 were in Group I, 16 in Group II, and 5 in Group III; and of those spending \$100 and over per food expenditure unit, 1 family was in Group I, 11 were in Group II, and 21 in Group III.

<sup>13</sup> In the year 1935-36 it is estimated that 41.7 per cent of the families in the U.S. spent less than \$95 per person on food. National Resources Committee, *Consumer Expenditure in the United States*. Washington, 1939, p. 86. Value of food consumed by the Filipino families averaged approximately \$63 per person.

<sup>14</sup> See below.

nine families raised part or all of their vegetables.<sup>15</sup> This is significant in view of the difficulty in raising vegetables unless the soil is fertilized and the garden watered regularly.

*Dietary analysis.*<sup>16</sup> The following analysis of food is based upon the record of food consumed during the four weeks each family was visited. To secure a homogeneous grouping, the families are classified in three food expenditure groups, according to the value of food per food expenditure unit.<sup>17</sup> Food Group I includes 36 families spending on food less than \$75 a year per food expenditure unit, Food Group II, 32 families spending from \$75 to \$99, and Food Group III, 33 families who spent \$100 and over per food expenditure unit.

Although the difference in value of food consumed per family in the three food expenditure groups is not considerable, the difference in the value per food expenditure unit between the groups is very marked, the lowest food group spending an average of \$4.99 per food expenditure unit during 28 days, families in Food Group II spending \$7.19 per unit, and families in Food Group III, \$9.64. The average for all families is \$6.87. This is shown in Table 14.

Food for Group III not only cost more but the quantity consumed increased from 2,875 calories (per food expenditure unit) in Food Group I, to 3,624 calories in Group II, and to 4,066 calories in Group III. It averaged 3,381 calories for all groups combined. Thus for all foods (even rice), the consumption per food expenditure unit increased with each higher food expenditure group, the following only excepted: potatoes, dried beans, sugar (practically the same), and Health Center milk formula for families with Health Center children

<sup>15</sup> Fourteen families in Expenditure Group I, 23 in Group II, and 12 in Group III had gardens.

<sup>16</sup> Adapted from a report by Martha R. Jones on *An Analysis of Diets of 101 Families on a Sugar Plantation in Hawaii*. Honolulu, 1934. Unpublished manuscript.

<sup>17</sup> See footnote 1 for method of classifying families into Food Expenditure Groups and Appendix A for method of compiling food scale.

(practically the same). The families in Group III spent about twice as much on food (per food expenditure unit) as those in Group I. The increase in expenditure and consumption of various foods (per food expenditure unit) by Group III over Group I is not uniform, however, the greatest increase occurring in the case of meat, families in Group III spending and eating approximately four times as much meat as those in Group I. They purchased and consumed about three times as much eggs and beverages, 2.6 times as much milk, approximately twice as much fish, fruit and vegetables, fats, and sweets, and 1.4 times as much grains.

TABLE 14. QUANTITIES AND COSTS OF VARIOUS FOODS CONSTITUTING DIET OF 101 FILIPINO FAMILIES FOR A PERIOD OF 28 DAYS

Items	Quantity consumed		Expenditure	
	Per family	Per food expend. unit	Per family	Per food expend. unit
All food			\$26.89	\$6.87
	<i>lbs.*</i>	<i>lbs.*</i>		
Meat	12.57	3.21	3.97	1.01
Fish	21.75	5.55	4.59	1.18
Eggs (no.)	17.32	4.43	.54	.14
Milk (oz.)	284.33	72.67	2.07	.53
Grain products	161.00	41.15	8.82	2.27
Vegetables	57.31	14.63	2.51	.63
Fruits	22.58	5.76	.75	.19
Fat	2.68	.68	.36	.10
Beverages (oz.)	1.22	.31	.37	.09
Sweets	11.76	3.01	.79	.20
Health Center food:				
Milk formula (pt.)	23.04	5.89	1.11	.28
Taro	3.78	.97	.15	.04
Sweet potatoes	4.52	1.16	.05	.01
Veg.-meat puree (pt.)	6.78	1.73	.24	.06
Miscellaneous	—	—	.57	.14

\* Whenever the quantity is given, other than pounds, it is indicated in parenthesis after food.

For detailed data on food and averages for families classified according to food expenditure groups, see Appendix C, Table 2, p. 239.

# PROPORTION SPENT FOR TYPES OF FOOD PER ADULT MALE

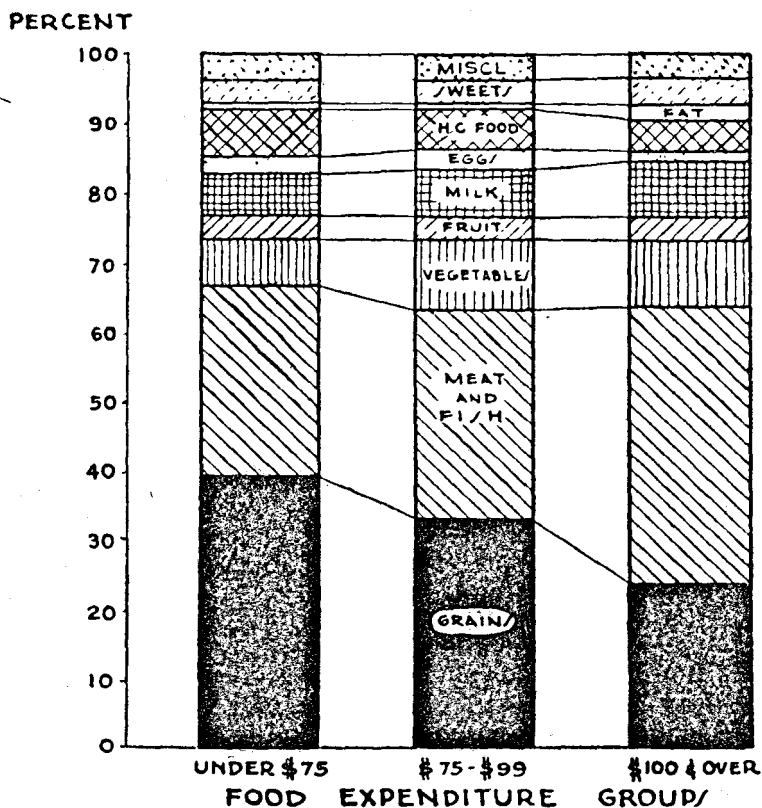


CHART 3.

Proportion of Total Food Expenditure Per Adult Male Spent for Food Groups by Families Classified According to Amount Spent for Food per Food Expenditure Unit.



The percentage distribution of calories in the various food groups is highly significant, for an otherwise balanced diet may be upset by an exceptionally large amount of one kind of food. This is shown in Chart 3. If a comparison is made of the percentages of calories (per food expenditure unit) which are furnished by the different food groups, we find that meat and fish increase from 4.8 per cent in Group I, to 6.1 per cent in Group II, to 10.6 per cent of total calories in Group III. Eggs and milk also show a marked increase (2.8 per cent, 3.6 per cent, and 4.9 per cent). Fruits and vegetables show only a slight increase (6.8 per cent, 7.4 per cent, and 7.3 per cent); there is a decided decrease in percentage of calories furnished by grains (75.2 per cent, 73.7 per cent, and 67.7 per cent); and a slight decrease in the case of sweets. This is shown in Table 15.

If we compare the nutrients in the average diet of each of the three food expenditure groups, it is apparent that families in Group III receive appreciably more calories and nutrients than do those in Group I.<sup>18</sup> Group II families are intermediate in all respects. According to accepted standards of requirements in certain essential nutrients, the families in Group I would be classed in the danger zone, "a twilight zone of nutritional instability," the diet being low in iron, phosphorus, and vitamins A and B (anti-beriberi), and very low in calcium. Vitamin C (anti-scorbutic) appears to have been adequate in amount. Authorities differ as to protein requirements. The absolute amounts of protein in the diets of the three groups varied greatly, being 74.1, 100.8, and 123.4 grams in Food Groups I, II, and III, respectively, and furnishing 10.31, 11.15, and 12.14 per cent of total calories in the diet in the three groups in the same order. In Group I, grains furnished 69.2 per cent of the protein, 64.5 per cent in Group II, and 52.3 per cent in Group III. Since the nutritive efficiency of the protein of grains is low compared with that of proteins

<sup>18</sup> See Appendix C, Tables 3 and 4, p. 240.

TABLE 15. DISTRIBUTION OF CALORIES AND COSTS AMONG THE VARIOUS TYPES OF FOODS CONSTITUTING THE DIET OF 101 FILIPINO FAMILIES (EXCLUSIVE OF HEALTH CENTER FOOD)

Food	Families classified according to annual food expenditure per food expenditure unit.							
	Food Group I		Food Group II		Food Group III		All Groups	
	Calories Per cent	Costs* Per cent	Calories Per cent	Costs* Per cent	Calories Per cent	Costs* Per cent	Calories Per cent	Costs* Per cent
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Meat	2.1	10.6	3.4	15.2	6.3	20.2	3.8	15.6
Fish	2.7	18.1	2.9	17.0	4.3	19.1	3.3	18.2
Eggs (no.)	.2	1.5	.3	2.4	.5	2.4	.3	2.2
Milk	2.6	7.1	3.3	7.7	4.4	9.3	3.4	8.2
Grains	75.2	42.6	73.7	35.0	67.7	28.0	72.4	35.0
Vegetables	5.1	9.1	4.8	11.6	4.0	9.0	4.7	9.7
Fruits	1.7	2.8	2.6	2.8	3.3	3.3	2.5	2.9
Fats & peanut butter	3.4	1.5	2.6	1.5	3.1	1.4	3.0	1.5
Sweets	6.7	1.3	5.8	1.3	5.5	1.9	6.1	1.4
Beverages	.3	3.2	.5	3.1	.9	3.0	.5	3.1
Miscellaneous	.04	2.2	.1	2.4	.02	2.4	.03	2.2
Average calories and costs per man per day	2,875	\$ .17	3,624	\$ .24	4,066	\$ .33	3,381	\$ .23

\* Home grown food has been valued at market prices.

of animal origin (meat, milk, and eggs), the persons in Group I actually might have suffered protein want. The carbohydrate of the diet supplied 79.3, 77.7, and 75.5 per cent of the total calories in Food Groups I, II, and III, respectively, and of this, grains furnished 75.2, 73.6, 67.4 per cent. Notwithstanding the families in Group III had more milk, fruit, and vegetables (which contain a predominance of alkaline elements) in their diet than did those in Groups I and II, their diet, as a whole, had a higher degree of potential acidity. Diet III would have rated from good to excellent in all of the known essential nutrients.

The average Filipino laborer's diet is approximately as follows:

TABLE 16. AVERAGE DAILY DIET OF FILIPINO MALE ADULT  
IN HAWAII STUDY

Food	Total calories	Approximate amount
Meat and fish	238	4 oz.
Egg	11	1/6 egg
Milk and ice cream	113	5-1/3 oz.
Fat	100	1 T.
Rice	2,372	1-1/2 lb.
Bread	78	1 med. slice
Fruit	85	1 banana
Potato	87	3 oz.
Other vegetable	71	5-7 oz.
Sugar and preserves	199	10 tsp.
Candy	6	1/3 jelly bean
Cocoa	18	2 tsp.
Peanut butter	3	1/2 peanut
Total	3,381	

The Filipino diet contains comparatively small amounts of meat, fish, egg, milk, fats, vegetables, fruits and sweets, and exceptionally large amounts of grains, principally rice, compared to that of 224 representative American families given by Sherman.

Grains and sugar are the cheapest sources of calories in the

Filipino diet. They furnish 78.5 per cent of the total calories of the diet at 36.4 per cent of the total cost. Vegetables, fruits, and milk, the so-called "protective foods," furnish 10.5 per cent of the calories of the diet at 20.8 per cent of the cost.<sup>19</sup> Grains, principally rice, furnish over half of the calories, protein, phosphorus, iron, and acidity in the diet.<sup>20</sup>

TABLE 17. COMPARISON OF DIETS OF 101 FILIPINO FAMILIES AND 224 REPRESENTATIVE AMERICAN FAMILIES\* FROM THE STANDPOINT OF DISTRIBUTION OF CALORIES AMONG THE VARIOUS CLASSES OF FOODS

Food	Proportion of all calories	
	224 American families*	101 Filipino families
Total	100.00	100.00
Meat and fish	18.99	7.10
Eggs	1.77	.30
Milk and cheese	8.10	3.30
Butter and fats	10.30	2.90
Grains	38.20	72.40
Sugar and sweets	10.10	5.90
Vegetables and fruits	12.00	7.30
Miscellaneous	.54	.80

\* H. C. Sherman, *Chemistry of Food Nutrition*, Macmillan Co., New York, 1932, p. 512.

Vegetables, fruits, and milk, in addition to being the principal sources of vitamins and minerals in the diet—the "protective foods"—are the ones which contain a predominance of alkaline elements. These foods furnish only 10.5 per cent of the calories. Available evidence indicates that this factor, hitherto not regarded as a food "essential" may be a prime factor in maintaining normal body balance. It appears that

<sup>19</sup> Caloric values per pound or other unit of food were obtained from text books and food tables. From these values and the known quantity of foods used, the total caloric value was obtained for each article of food. The various nutrients in the diet were calculated from the total calories as determined, and the value of a 100-calorie portion given in food tables reported by H. C. Sherman, *op. cit.*, and *Food Products*, Macmillan Co., New York, 1914; Mary Swartz Rose, *A Laboratory Hand Book for Dietetics*, Macmillan Co., New York, 1929; and Alice V. Bradley, *Tables of Food Values*, Manual Arts Press, Peoria, Ill., 1931.

<sup>20</sup> See Appendix C, Table 3, p. 240.

the high degree of acidity of the Filipino diet is the most outstanding fault from a nutritional standpoint.

If it is desirable to have 12.5 per cent of the calories in the form of protein, 37.5 per cent in the form of fat, and 50 per cent in the form of carbohydrates as recommended by H. C. Sherman,<sup>21</sup> the average Filipino diet is slightly low in protein, markedly low in fat, and high in carbohydrate. Its phosphorus and iron values are moderately low, and calcium markedly low, the last mentioned being a little more than half the accepted requirement. In respect to acid-base balance, the Filipino diet is strongly acid in potential reaction, that is, its ash contains a large excess of acid-forming elements over the alkaline.

*Comparison of diet of Filipino families in Hawaii with that in the Philippines.* The food eaten by the Filipino families in Hawaii is similar in many respects to that eaten in the homeland, although the variety of food in Hawaii is considerably greater.<sup>22</sup> Lava gives the following description of the food of Ilocano families in the Philippines:

The ordinary meal of an Ilocano peasant is a dish or two of boiled rice, and *malungay* (horse radish) seasoned with *bagoong* (salted small shrimps); or rice, eggplant, and *bagoong*; or rice and a handful of fresh small fishes like *sapsap*, (slipmouth) *tamban*, (herring), or a few pieces of dried fish (*tuyo*). Meat was eaten by a few families at intervals of a month or two. A few families (not representative) in fact, did not eat meat during the sixty days of observation.

As a stomach filler, the quantity eaten may be said to be adequate. Each family of five consumes on the average from one to one and one-half *gantas*<sup>23</sup> of rice a day. An average person consumes two dishes of boiled rice in one meal.

The rest of the foods are eaten merely to give taste to the rice, that is, to permit the tasteless food to be swallowed. They are negligible both in point of bulk or of calorific content.

<sup>21</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 512.

<sup>22</sup> For Ilocano foods and their preparations see Morice Vanoverbergh, "The Iloko Kitchen" (a dictionary of Ilocano foods and food processes), *Philippine Journal of Science*, 60, 1-10, Manila, 1936.

<sup>23</sup> A ganta is equal to 3 litres or 2.71 quarts.

The vegetables most used in the diet in the order of their importance, from the standpoint of quantity are: (1) *saluyot* (*pasao*) (a vegetable similar to spinach), (2) squash, (3) *patola* (sponge gourd), (4) eggplant, (5) *camote* (sweet potato), (6) tomatoes, (7) beans, and (8) *malungay* (horse radish). These vegetables are the cheapest available in the markets and although most of them have fairly high food values, the quantities eaten are inadequate to furnish the necessary nutrients.

Sea-foods consumed also are of the cheapest kinds. The following are the usual fishes consumed: (1) *dilis* (dried salted anchovy), (2) *tamban* (sardines), (3) *talilong* (young mullet), and (4) *buan-buan* (tarpon).

We should expect fruits to constitute a good portion of the diet, but this is not so. They are eaten only rarely and only in small quantities. Bananas, mangoes, *duhat*, breadfruit—these are practically the only important fruits consumed.

Probably the fact of the underconsumption of food by the representative rural workers may be brought home better by listing the foods they do not eat rather than those which they actually eat.

In general, foods imported from foreign countries are outside the everyday consumption of these people. Sugar and bread are considered as luxuries and are eaten rarely; coffee and chocolate, even milk, are not taken at all. Foreign fruits, like apples, pears, oranges, peaches, strawberries, and the like, are hardly known. Canned goods like salmon or sardines are eaten only in exceptional cases, as for instance when there are visitors. Canned crabs, asparagus, even canned pork and beans, are unknown.

The extreme simplicity of the food materials is further heightened by the simplicity in the method of preparation. The preparation probably takes a matter of fifteen to thirty minutes. . . . Boiling is the common method. Broiling is done occasionally; frying, even more rarely.<sup>24</sup>

In addition to the foods mentioned by Lava, the following vegetables, eaten by the Filipinos in Hawaii, were found in the diets of 12 families given in detail by Lava in the Philippine study: ampalaya fruits and leaves, lima beans, *camote* leaves, bamboo shoots, banana shoots, cabbage, onions, squash leaves, *sincamas*, seaweed, *cankong*, *caturday*, and gabi.

The Ilocano families' food in Lava's study cost, for most families, from 2.5 to 3.5 centavos per person per meal. Fam-

<sup>24</sup> Lava, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27.

ilies who were living on 5 centavos and over were families who had relatives either working abroad or who had just recently returned from such work.<sup>25</sup>

The following table compares the quantity and the distribution of calories by food groups for the families in this study and the Ilocano families studied by Lava.

TABLE 18. FOOD CONSUMED BY COMPARABLE FILIPINO FAMILIES IN HAWAII AND ILOCANO FAMILIES IN P.I.\*

Foods	101 Filipino families in Hawaii		87 Ilocano families in the Philippines	
	Calories	Percentage	Calories	Percentage
Total	13,524	100.0	5,699.84	100.0
Rice	9,488	70.2	3,829.24	67.2
Vegetables	632	4.7	630.41	11.1
Fruits	340	4.7	217.1	3.8
Fish	996	7.4	509.33	8.9
Meat and eggs			315.15	5.5
All other†	2,068	15.2	198.61	3.5

\* The information for the Hawaii families was taken from Table 16 and Appendix C, Table 3. Since the information is given for food expenditure units, it was multiplied by four to give a family of five, computed according to Lava's method. This may make the calories somewhat high for the Hawaii families. The data for the Ilocano families are from Lava, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

† All other includes bread and other grains, milk and ice cream, fat, sugar and preserves, candy, cocoa, and peanut butter.

Although the proportion of vegetables, meats, fish, and eggs in the Ilocano diet compare not unfavorably to the standard set by Dr. Isabelo Concepcion of the University of the Philippines, the quantities consumed are inadequate to provide the energy required for farm labor.<sup>26</sup> The Ilocano diet is estimated to have an energy value of 5,700 calories for five persons (three adults and two children), or an average of about 1,400 calories per adult and 700 calories for each child.<sup>27</sup> This is

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23. A centavo is equivalent to half an American cent.

<sup>26</sup> Referred to by Lava, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

<sup>27</sup> Lava assumes that two children require an energy value equivalent to that of an adult. If a more refined food scale had been used, it is probable that the calories for an adult male would have been somewhat higher.

less than half the calories which Dr. Hermano of the Philippine Bureau of Science considers necessary for a Filipino man doing moderately hard manual work<sup>28</sup> and less than half the energy value of the diet of the Hawaii families, with its value of 3,381 calories per adult male. Lava estimates that the consumption of rice by the Ilocano families is less than two-fifths of the amount necessary to secure the recommended number of calories. He makes the following evaluation of the diet of the Ilocano peasants:

The Ilocano rural worker lives on a starvation diet. . . . The food intake is inadequate to supply the energy required of a working man doing moderately hard work. . . . The distribution of the nutrients is also bad. There is too large a percentage of cereals and not enough of fruits and vegetables. The diet is totally lacking in fatty foods, milk and dairy products. In spite of the preponderance of cereal consumption, however, the actual quantity of rice consumed is only about 95 calories per day, still very much lower than the amount set by Dr. Hermano, a nutrition expert who suggested a total daily rice consumption of 2,500 calories.<sup>29</sup>

The typical diet of families living on sugar haciendas in the Philippines is described by Runes as follows:

The usual diet consists of rice, vegetables and fish. The average family (4.6 persons) consumes daily about a ganta of third-class rice valued, during the time of the survey (1938), at 33 centavos. The price was higher in some localities. Five centavos was spent for fish and the remaining three was for salt, and occasionally, sugar or bananas. When on rare occasions meat is bought, the amount thus spent must be taken out of the budget for other days. Bread, butter, milk or cream, coffee, and chocolate are unknown among the plantation workers except for the better paid *cabo* (squad leader), bookkeeper and manager.

The diet of the workers is superior in quality and quantity during the milling season to that of the off-season. Ordinarily, during the off-season, families eat only two meals a day while many can afford only one. There were found at the time of the survey forty-four fam-

<sup>28</sup> Dr. Hermano estimates 3,171.36 calories essential for a person doing moderately hard manual work. Quoted by Lava, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 85.



ilies eating ground corn instead of rice. The laborers rarely eat meat, doing so only when the working animal is disabled by old age or by some ailment and is slaughtered, or because a social function of some importance is inevitable. In the former case, the rest of the butchered carabao is sold to neighbors on credit.

The adequacy or inadequacy in calorific content of the food eaten by the plantation family in this study has not been taken into consideration, although, in view of the less variety of his diet, it would fall even below that of the Ilocano farm worker. Dr. Isabelo Concepcion of the School of Hygiene and Public Health, University of the Philippines, places the diet of university students, money value of which, per meal, is about 12 centavos, at 2,311 calories, a condition which he thinks is notoriously bad. If, according to Dr. Concepcion's standard, the student's diet is deficient, the laborers' food as found by the survey would be far from being adequate. [The average daily food expenditure per family of 4.6 persons was 41.5 centavos, or a total of 152 pesos a year during the period under investigation. The average expenditure for an individual was about three centavos for meals during the off-season. The laborers admit that expenses for food slightly increase during milling time.]<sup>30</sup>

A comparison of the diet of Filipino families in Hawaii with that in their homeland shows the Hawaii diet to be far superior in variety and in quantity of food consumed. The increase in quantity, however, has not resulted in an adequately balanced diet. The consumption of rice has been increased more than the so-called "protective foods,"—vegetables, fruits, and milk—though these have also increased somewhat.

It has been pointed out by Hugo H. Miller that an increase in the economic position of Oriental families at the end of the World War in 1918 was accompanied by an increase in the amount of rice consumed.<sup>31</sup> As has been seen, this is true of the Filipinos in Hawaii. There is a greater consumption of

<sup>30</sup> Runes, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20. The third paragraph is quoted from Mr. Runes' original manuscript and is not included in his book.

<sup>31</sup> Hugo H. Miller found that in 1918 when there was increased income of the people in the Philippines, the consumption of rice per capita increased from 79.5 kilos (average for 1910-1916) to 112 kilos. The increase in consumption of rice was also noted in Japan in 1918. *Op. cit.*, p. 54.

rice, not only in quantity but in proportion to the total diet as a result of improved economic conditions. Moreover, families in this study were also found to increase their actual consumption of rice when more money was spent on food.<sup>32</sup> Apart from this over-emphasis on acid-forming energy foods, however, there is undoubted improvement in diet in Hawaii as more money is available for food expenditure. To achieve an ideal diet economic advances would have to be accompanied by education in food values.

<sup>32</sup> Families spending less than \$75 per expenditure unit on food averaged 37 pounds of rice per adult male in the 4 weeks' time; those spending more than \$75 per adult male on food averaged 43 pounds of rice per adult male.

*Wander*

## CHAPTER VIII

### HOUSING, HOUSEHOLD OPERATION, AND FURNITURE

*Plantation houses.* The plantation, as has been seen, furnishes each employee living quarters. A separate house is provided each family, and cottages are provided for some of the unskilled unmarried men in groups of seven or eight, though most of the single Filipinos are housed in barracks. The skilled single men are provided individual quarters. The size, design, and construction of the house varies with the group of laborers. The unskilled Filipino laborers, who occupy the bottom rung of the occupational ladder, live in the poorest houses. The Japanese laborers are provided houses which are in better repair and somewhat superior in design. The semi-skilled laborers are assigned still better houses, and the skilled workers and white collar employees live in attractive, well-constructed homes.

The houses assigned Filipino workers are small, unpainted, frame dwellings, consisting of a living room, two or three bedrooms, a kitchen, and front porch. The kitchen is separated from the other rooms by a covered porch. All rooms are small, ventilated by one or two windows. With a few exceptions there were no screens at the windows or doors. The houses are provided with electricity, a faucet in the kitchen for running water, an outside toilet, and a wash house equipped with two stationary tubs and plumbing. The toilet has a drainage canal with water running through it much of the time. Nevertheless, in hot and damp weather, it is likely

to emit unpleasant odors. In Filipino Village and Middle Village the houses have individual showers equipped with cold running water, but in Banana Camp the families use a community bath-house reserved for Filipinos. The bath-house has two rooms separated by a partition, one room for the men and one for the women and children. In each room there is a large tub filled with warm water and several small tubs for cold water which are available for individual use. The warm water is dipped out of the big tub by the bathers.

Each house is on a plot of ground 50 feet by 70 to 85 feet. Forty-nine families raised vegetables in gardens at the back or side of the house. A large proportion of families raise flowers and shrubs, and decorate their porches with potted ferns and plants.

Filipinos live in the houses assigned to them and change location at the discretion of the office. During a period of twenty years' residence on the plantation, one family changed house seven times, the last change at their own request in order to get a yard suitable for a vegetable garden.

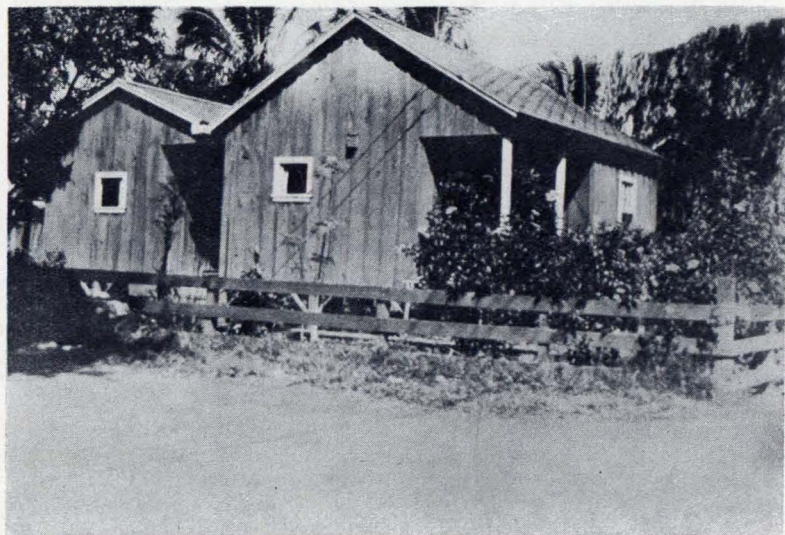
Fifty-one families occupy 4-room houses, 45 families 5-room houses, and 4 families 6-room houses. There appears to be little relationship between the size of the house and the size of the household. The number of rooms per person decreased regularly from 2 in the 4 families of husband and wife only, to .45 in the household with 11 persons. It averaged .79 room per person for all families.

Families living in houses of similar construction and condition in the surrounding community pay about \$2.50 per room. If the families in this study were renting their homes, they would have paid approximately \$136 a year. Families in Group I would have paid \$140; in Group II, \$132; and in Group III, \$136.<sup>1</sup> This value has been used in estimating the total value of living of the 101 families.

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix B for method of estimating value of perquisites furnished by the plantation.



Public grammar School on the plantation (*see page 148*)



Four-room plantation house with connecting kitchen (*see page 115*)

The plantation settlement is divided into fairly long blocks, with cross roads that cause the whole to be arranged roughly in squares. It is markedly different from the usual Philippine *barrios*, which may be built along winding trails, with the bamboo and nipa grass houses set close together wherever the families happen to own house lots.

The roads in the plantation camps are unpaved, with the exception of the main automobile highway. The wooden walks leading to the houses were not always in the best of repair and sometimes furnished a real hazard. The camps are provided with street lights which are lit in the evenings, a situation far different from the unlit lanes in the homeland barrios.

The plantation has a police system of its own, organized to protect the laborers and their families from wrongdoers, and also to enforce the plantation rules. The camps are patrolled regularly day and night by plantation police, and a careful watch is maintained over who comes and goes in the plantation premises. Certain persons, such as salesmen of dubious products, labor agitators, and the like, are not allowed to enter the plantation, and if they are caught on the premises are turned over to the Honolulu police and prosecuted for violation of the Territorial statute on trespassing.<sup>2</sup> Because of the peculiar susceptibility of Filipinos to "gold brick salesmen," these restrictions have been used to protect them from unscrupulous agents. They have also protected the management from labor difficulties.

4 *Household operation.* Kerosene for cooking is supplied free by the plantation.<sup>3</sup> Each family pays its own electric

<sup>2</sup> The Territorial statute on trespassing has been used to prevent political parties, other than the one supported by the plantation management, from holding meetings on the plantation during election campaigns.

<sup>3</sup> The amount of kerosene each family receives is based upon the following schedule:

1 in family	—	5 gallons a month
2 " "	—	7 " " "
3 " "	—	9 " " "

(Footnote 3 continued on next page)

light bill at the rate of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  cents per kilowatt hour, with a minimum charge of 50 cents per month. Charges for electricity ranged from \$8.97 to \$48.37 for the year, and were deducted from the monthly pay. The high amounts are partly due to the long hours of ironing by the women who supplement their income by doing laundering. It is also due to the practice of some families of keeping a light burning all night, which is a widespread custom in the Philippines. Most of the families in this study came from districts in the Philippines in which kerosene, candle nut, or cocoanut oil furnished their only source of light, and the use of electricity here is a luxury, taken advantage of as much as possible. Fear of burglars, but even more of spirits or *anitos* prompts many to keep a light on all night, for it is believed the latter will not enter a lighted house. The fact that each laborer pays for the light he consumes shows that there is some very fundamental reason behind the practice. The older people speak of light as a "grace from heaven."<sup>4</sup>

Expenditures connected with laundering are high in many families because of the extra washings the women do. The clothes are boiled in a heavy iron kettle over a fire built outside the laundry house. Then they are spread on the concrete floor of the wash house in much the same way as in Philippine villages they are spread on smooth rocks by the edge of a stream or pool. They are scrubbed with a stiff brush and rinsed with a hose. Most of the families gathered their wood for the fires from here and there, although 14 families bought charcoal from the plantation. Soap is an

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Footnote 3—Continued

4 in family	—	12	gallons	a	month
5 " "	—	13	"	"	"
6 or more	—	14	"	"	"

Five families keeping boarders bought additional gallons of kerosene to supplement their allowance, although an allowance was also made for the boarder. All the other families stayed within their allotment.

<sup>4</sup> Cariaga, *op. cit.*

expensive item, the amounts reported ranging from \$3 to \$54, 40 families spending more than \$10 for the year.

In 12 families the laundering was done away from home. In 4 of those families there were working sons or relatives, and in 6 families with relatively high incomes the presence of young babies probably accounted for this expenditure.

Partly because of their habitual method of preserving their food and partly because of the expense involved, only 5 families used ice during the year. One of these families has no ice box, and purchased a small amount of ice at the time of a feast held in connection with a funeral. The remaining 4 families have ice boxes and used ice during a part or all of the year. Their expenditures ranged from \$6 to \$11. One family owned an ice box but took no ice.

Matches, not of the "safety" variety, were usually bought in large boxes. They become a significant item in the budget of families having a number of tobacco smokers. Forty-four families reported expenditures for mosquito punk and 14 families for liquid mosquito spray. The absence of screens in the homes and the prevalence of mosquitoes make these expenditures almost essential.

There is no house-to-house mail delivery on the plantation and some families paid 5 cents for each letter that was delivered by the post office. Only 60 families reported expenditures for postage, stationery, pens, pencils, and telegrams. The remaining 41 families insisted that no letters were written or received during the year. Three families reported renting a safe deposit box.<sup>5</sup> One family paid a bill incurred the previous year for moving household goods from Honolulu to the plantation.

Each family using the public bath house in Banana Camp pays 50 cents a month to a Filipino woman who keeps the

<sup>5</sup> It is possible that these families misunderstood the question and were referring to rental of a box at the post office for their mail.



premises clean, and makes the outdoor wood fires which heat the water. Single men are charged 35 cents. She collects the fees each month, these making up her wage. With characteristic Filipino kindness, the woman in charge does not press those in financial difficulties for payment, particularly the families. Two of the 16 families in this study living in Banana Camp paid for the use of the bath house the entire year. A few months after the study ended its use was said to have increased. Originally there was one bath house in Banana Camp, used by both the Japanese and Filipinos. But early in 1933 a love affair between a Filipino man and a Japanese girl lined up Japanese behind the girl and Filipinos behind the man, and an open feud developed between the two nationalities. The Filipinos demanded of the management a bath house for their exclusive use, and it was built in order to relieve the animosity between the two groups.

The expenditures for household operating expenses, given in Table 19, ranged from \$23 to \$128, and averaged \$51 for all families.

*Inventory of furniture and equipment.*<sup>6</sup> The furniture and equipment found in the Filipino homes reflects, more than any other purchases, their acceptance of new standards, for the traditional material culture of the Philippines does not include beds or chairs. Rolled bedding on the floors is convenient and comfortable in the small nipa houses with bamboo floors while chairs are a foreign innovation unnecessary because of the low-style tables. Sewing machines and gramophones are a sign of social and economic status above that of the laboring masses.

As would be true of any group of families, a variety of factors have influenced these Filipinos in their choice of furniture and in the amount they have acquired. The most

<sup>6</sup> Phonographs, radios, and pianos are included in the discussion of the inventory of furniture and equipment because of their relationship to other household furnishings.

obvious influence is income. In general, the higher income families are more adequately supplied with furniture and household equipment, though the size of the family may limit the amount of money available for such purchases.

TABLE 19. OPERATING EXPENSES

Item	Number of families reporting	Percentage of all families	Average expenditure for reporting families	Minimum amount	Maximum amount
All items	101	100.0	\$50.65	\$23.36	\$127.98
Fuel, light and power:					
Electricity	101	100.0	21.05	8.97	48.37
Wood and charcoal	14	13.9	4.82	2.00	22.00
Kerosene	5	5.0	5.04	1.00	12.00
Meter deposit	9	8.9	4.67	4.00	5.00
Ice	5	5.0	6.24	.50	10.92
Household supplies:					
Toilet soap	92	91.1	3.01	.60	9.00
Laundry soap	101	100.0	10.15	3.00	54.39
Starch	83	82.2	4.36	.39	17.17
Water softener	46	45.5	3.11	.60	9.10
Bluing	85	84.2	.35	.05	1.30
Cleaning materials	70	69.3	.80	.15	7.20
Lye	9	8.9	1.32	.10	3.60
Matches	101	100.0	2.79	.12	6.00
Toilet paper	62	61.4	2.00	.60	6.00
Punk	44	43.6	4.42	.75	6.50
Mosquito spray	14	13.9	4.45	1.30	5.20
Wax paper	1	1.0	1.40	—	—
Toothpicks	4	4.0	.19	.05	.60
Machine oil	2	2.0	.30	.10	.50
Miscellaneous	2	2.0	.35	.20	.50
Laundry, done outside	12	11.9	11.89	.35	29.90
Stationery, pens, pencils, postage and telegrams	60	59.4	1.41	.05	12.60
Moving expenses	1	1.0	9.00	—	—
Rent of safe deposit box	3	3.0	1.28	1.05	1.40
Bath house fee	2	2.0	6.00	6.00	6.00

Some families expect to return to the Philippine Islands after a certain time has passed or after a certain sum is saved. In most of these homes is found a minimum amount of "American" furniture. Some have preferred to go into debt and to acquire certain household furnishings.

A few families have preferred an automobile to household furniture. Four of the 15 families owning automobiles have no beds, 6 have no chairs, and only 3 have washing machines. This preference for automobiles to other things is common to many American families, and not unique to the 15 Filipino families with automobiles. Several families have bought a washing machine before purchasing their furniture. Of the 12 families with washing machines 4 do not have chairs, and 1 family has no bed. The length of time families have been in the Territory also influences to some extent the furniture and equipment in their homes, particularly for those who try to avoid debts.

In visiting these homes attention is first attracted to the large framed photographs hanging on the walls. These are commonly about 12 to 18 inches high with frames of plain dark wood. The pictures are usually photographs, in black and white, of members or relatives of the family and of funerals. A few are colored and have ornate painted frames. The funeral pictures may include the corpse and the entire funeral party, the corpse alone, or the corpse with one or two members of the family. In order to protect the families from unscrupulous salesmen, the plantation authorities have required all purchases of framed photographs to be made through the office.<sup>7</sup>

Attention is next attracted to the phonograph. Forty-nine families had phonographs. These were large cabinet models covered with cretonne and usually placed on small platforms

<sup>7</sup> Seventy-six families own 199 pictures, ranging in cost from \$3 to \$25, and averaging \$12.53. Fifty-four families had more than one framed photograph. The number of families having a specific number of these pictures is as follows:

12 to 18 inches high, probably replicas of the low table used in the homeland. In no instance was a phonograph played during the author's visits. Quite the contrary was true of the radios, for the 19 families owning radios kept them operating almost continuously. Phonographs, like the framed photographs, contribute greatly to the prestige of the home.<sup>8</sup>

In most of the living rooms there were two wooden benches and a rough wooden table of the height used in western homes, on which the wife irons the clothes.<sup>9</sup> In about half the homes there were chairs in the living rooms, mostly straight backed. Less than a fifth of the families had anything in the nature of easy chairs.<sup>10</sup> Twenty-four homes had congoleum rugs on the living room floor.<sup>11</sup> There were 4 families that had provided themselves with sets of living room furniture similar to those found in middle-class American

*Footnote 7—Continued*

<i>Number of families</i>	<i>Number of framed photographs</i>
25	None
22	1
21	2
13	3
11	3
5	5
2	6
1	7
1	8

<sup>8</sup> Forty-nine families owned 52 phonographs. Most of the phonographs were purchased on the installment plan. The average cost per phonograph was \$78.35, the prices ranging from \$18 to \$180. Seven families made payments during the year on installment purchases of phonographs. Four were purchased during the year, 2 in 1932, and 1 in 1933.

Radios were owned by 19 families. The radios had all been purchased since the beginning of 1930. In 1930 one was bought, 3 were bought in 1932, 6 in 1933, and 9 in 1934. Eight of the 19 families with radios also owned phonographs. Most of the radios were small table models and cost less than the phonographs, averaging \$59.33 for the radios as contrasted with \$78.35 for the phonograph. The radios ranged in price from \$15 to \$143.

<sup>9</sup> The wooden benches and tables were purchased from the plantation at \$1.00 each.

<sup>10</sup> Fifty-one families had 204 chairs in their homes. Of these 168 were straight chairs, 29 were easy chairs, usually wicker, and 7 were settees, also wicker. The straight chairs averaged in cost \$1.56 apiece, and the easy chairs \$2.30 each.

<sup>11</sup> Congoleum rugs averaged in price \$3.89.

homes—settee, one or more easy chairs to match, some straight chairs, a small living room table, and congoleum rugs. Their furniture was acquired by installment purchases and by increasing other debts.<sup>12</sup>

The roofs of the houses were unfinished inside the rooms and the walls were of wide rough boards, frequently poorly fitted. The floors were likewise of rough boards, somewhat narrower than those in the walls. Various efforts had been made to decorate the living rooms. Some families had white-washed the walls, others had used wrapping paper or newspaper as wallpaper. One family used large, brightly-colored movie advertisements for this purpose; another covered the walls with religious calendars, and another with pages from a Sears, Roebuck catalogue. It was the practice among a number of these families to paste photographic prints on the walls. Among them there were always small pictures of funerals. In other homes the walls were covered with magazine pictures of "beautiful" (always) white women, ranging in attire from elaborate gowns to complete nudity. A framed or an unframed picture of Jose Rizal y Mercado,—the national hero and martyr of the Philippines—a gift at the time they sailed from the homeland, was displayed in many homes. One family, not to be outdone by any other, had framed two pictures of Rizal and hung one on each side of the living room. In a number of rooms advertisements were used to decorate the walls. In several homes the ceilings were decorated with red twisted paper and red Christmas bells.

The windows and doorways were universally provided with narrow cretonne hangings, which the small children delighted in pulling and swinging on. Many families kept their windows closed and unwashed, a practice which was linked

<sup>12</sup> Two of these 4 families had radios, 3 had framed photographs, all had beds, 2 had cribs, and all had chests of drawers. None of these 4 families had victrolas or automobiles. No one of the 4 families reported savings, and all owed balances on their furniture ranging from \$18 to \$92, and other debts ranging from \$3 to \$183.

with that of keeping the lights burning all night in order to prevent burglars and spirits from entering the house. In the latticed bamboo huts of the Philippines, closed windows probably do not prevent adequate ventilation, but in the wooden plantation houses, with perhaps three or more persons sleeping in one room, closed windows constitute a health menace. In a number of Visayan houses, too, bamboo crosses were hung on front and rear doors to keep out spirits that might bring evil or sickness. Although most Filipinos were Roman Catholic, there was still a strong undercurrent of older Malayan beliefs among at least the rural population in the Philippines.<sup>13</sup>

In the bedrooms were found beds or sleeping mats rolled up native style in a corner with a pile of bedding.<sup>14</sup> In 30 per cent of the homes there were no beds and members of the family slept on the floor on mats which are made of straw about one-eighth inch thick. Laid on the floor these accommodate one or two members of the family. In many homes where there was a small baby, a hammock, usually made from rice bags, hung in the bedroom.<sup>15</sup>

Most of the families had a bare minimum of bed covers, although the number of sheets and pillow slips appeared to be adequate. Forty-two families had less than 4 covers. In

<sup>13</sup> See Zaide, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-37.

<sup>14</sup> There was a total of 117 beds and 7 cribs in 72 homes. Twenty-one beds were plain wooden ones without springs and mattresses, furnished by the plantation upon a deposit of \$2.50. The mats used on the floor were laid on the slats of these beds. Sixty-two families owned 72 double beds and 26 single beds with springs and mattresses. These beds ranged in price from \$4 to \$40, averaging for the double beds, \$17.03, and for the single beds, \$10.26.

Thirty-eight families had 1 bed; 25, 2 beds; 5, 3 beds; 2, 5 beds; and 1, 6 beds. (These figures are exclusive of the cribs.) Three hundred and eighty-five persons slept in these 71 homes. Obviously many slept on the floor, as did the 165 persons in the 30 homes without beds.

<sup>15</sup> Six families had cribs. Three of these families were in the second expenditure group and 3 in the third. The cribs had been acquired within the past 4 years, with the exception of 1 purchased in 1928. The use of cribs represented a distinct advance in the care of babies and was largely due to the efforts of the staff of the Health Center.

many of these homes there were more than 6 persons sleeping in the house. Since these people customarily slept in their everyday clothes or underwear, the necessity for bedding was not so urgent as it might seem, although many families found it necessary to keep their windows closed at night in order to keep warm. The temperature at the plantation drops occasionally to 60 degrees, the lowest recorded being 49 degrees.<sup>16</sup>

In practically all the homes there was a large steamer trunk, always locked, which was used for storing the family valuables and clothing.<sup>17</sup> Because there were no clothes closets in the houses, some of the clothing was hung on nails around the room.<sup>18</sup> If a family had religious pictures, these were usually hung in the bedrooms. The sewing machines, owned by all but 4 families,<sup>19</sup> were often kept in a bedroom, and one of the

<sup>16</sup> U. S. Weather Bureau, *Climatological Summary for Hawaii*. Washington, 1918, p. 9.

Records of the number of bed covers in the homes were secured from all but 2 families. It is likely that the 2 families not reporting had some bedding. Ninety-three families reported an average of 3.8 cotton covers, and 39 families an average of 1.7 woolen covers. If cotton and woolen covers are combined, the number of families having a specified number of covers is as follows:

<i>Number of covers</i>	<i>Number of families</i>
1	8
2	16
3	18
4	15
5	11
6	8
7	13
8 and over	10

Ninety-one families reported sheets, averaging 5.7 per family, and 97 families reported pillow slips, averaging 8.4 per family.

<sup>17</sup> Ninety-three families owned 132 trunks. Four families brought their trunks with them from the Philippine Islands, 8 families had their trunks at the time of their marriage, and 3 families had their trunks given to them. Sixty families had 1 trunk; 28 families, 2 trunks; 4 families, 3 trunks; and 1 family, 4 trunks.

<sup>18</sup> Twenty-five families owned 33 chests of drawers. Twenty of these 25 families owned trunks before purchasing their chests of drawers. The other 5 families had no trunks. Six families received their chests as gifts, and 19 bought them at an average cost of \$11.14.

<sup>19</sup> Ninety-seven families had 116 sewing machines. Three of the 97 families owned electric sewing machines, purchased in 1930, 1931, and 1932. Most of the

bedrooms was frequently used for storing rice, boxes of canned milk and other canned food, and cakes of soap.

The kitchen, in all homes except one, contained a two-burner oil stove,<sup>20</sup> one or two benches, a sink with running water, with open lattice work providing the wall above it, and a screened-in cupboard or safe, in which the food was usually stored. No ovens were seen. In the one home without the

*Footnote 19—Continued*

sewing machines were purchased on the installment plan. Payments were made on 51 machines during the year by 50 families. One machine was purchased for cash.

Of the 48 foot sewing machines on which installment payments were made, one was purchased in 1928, 4 in 1930, 7 in 1931, 10 in 1932, 11 in 1933, and 15 in 1934. The two electric sewing machines on which payments were made were purchased in 1931 and 1932. One family made payments on two sewing machines during the year, and 1 family purchased a foot sewing machine for \$105 cash.

The family making payments on 2 sewing machines purchased their first sewing machine in 1932 for \$110. Thirty-six dollars was paid on this machine during the year, and a balance of \$20 remained at the end of the year. In 1934 this family purchased their second foot sewing machine for \$115, and paid \$30 during the year, leaving a balance of \$85. The family income was \$695, \$411 earned by the husband, \$235 by the wife, and \$49 by a 15-year old son. The family withdrew from their savings \$130.50, borrowed \$15, and accumulated store bills other than installment balances during the year of \$47. The family reported \$140 still in the bank, and owed \$102 on installment purchases, and \$62 on their other bills.

The family purchasing a machine for cash withdrew the entire amount of their savings, \$200, and purchased the sewing machine, also two chairs for \$3, a radio for \$35, one framed photograph for \$19.95, a victrola for \$105 on which \$25 was paid, 2 woolen covers for \$12.50, and 3 towels for \$1.05. This was the second sewing machine the family had purchased, the first bought in 1923 for \$116. The husband worked in the mill, earning \$765. There was no other income in the family.

Sixteen families had purchased 2 sewing machines since their arrival in the Territory and 7 were still making payments on their second machines, 1 family making payments on both. Two families listed 3 sewing machines, both families making payments on their third machines. Most families with more than one sewing machine intend to return to the Philippine Islands within a few years and take the sewing machines with them, either selling the extra ones or giving them to relatives.

The foot sewing machines ranged in price from \$25 to \$180, averaging \$107. Twenty-four families paid between \$126 and \$180. The higher price level that prevailed between 1919 and 1929 may be responsible to some extent for the large amounts spent on these machines, although 11 families purchased their machines since January, 1930, and paid from \$126 to \$180. These prices seem exorbitant and probably represent unwise purchases. A well known make of foot sewing machine with all the latest improvements sold on the installment plan in Honolulu in 1934 for \$115.

<sup>20</sup> The two-burner kerosene stove cost up to \$26, and averaged \$13.59. Thirty-eight families were here five years or more before securing a stove. The fact that most of these families did not use stoves in the Philippine Islands was undoubtedly a factor in the delay of their purchase.



oil stove, the cooking was done over an open hearth in the kitchen. Some families had cut off the legs of their kitchen tables so that the members might sit on the floor according to their custom in the Philippines. As was noted earlier, the kitchens were not clean.

Dishes were reported by 98 families, although it is probable that the 3 families not reporting also had dishes. About half of the dishes were of enamel and unbreakable. In many homes the dishes consisted of several enamel plates and one or two enamel or tin cups.<sup>21</sup>

Only 19 families reported any knives, forks, and spoons. Again it is possible that there were others who had this equipment, although in many kitchens the writer saw no such evidence. In homes so lacking, the food was scooped up with the fingers as is done in the Philippines. The knives, forks, and spoons were frequently of tin or enamel, with a few that were silver-plated, purchased at the five and ten cent store.

Twenty-two families used dish towels, most of which were made from rice bags. Families not using dish towels washed their dishes and placed them on the sink to drain and dry.

Twelve families had electric washing machines, costing from \$62.50 to \$149.50, and averaging in price \$78.88.<sup>22</sup> Washing machines had a real economic value for these families as well as a labor-saving value, for in all but one of the 12 families, income was earned by the wife washing clothes for

<sup>21</sup> The number of families having a specified number of dishes was as follows:

<i>Number of families</i>	<i>Number of dishes</i>
3	None reported
5	Less than 5
25	5 to 9
28	10 to 14
20	15 to 24
19	25 and over

The highest number reported was 111 dishes. Forty-five families had some kind of glasses. In the remaining 56 homes tin or enamel cups were used.

<sup>22</sup> Two families purchased their washing machines in 1932; 5 in 1933; and 5 in 1934. Eleven of the 12 families made payments on them during the year.

single men. The amounts so earned ranged from \$60 to \$300 for the year.

There were 1 piano, 3 hand-carved harps, 2 banjos, 2 basses, 1 clarinet, 3 saxophones, 13 guitars, and 3 ukuleles among the 101 families. Three families had typewriters, and 1 family a massage apparatus costing \$15.

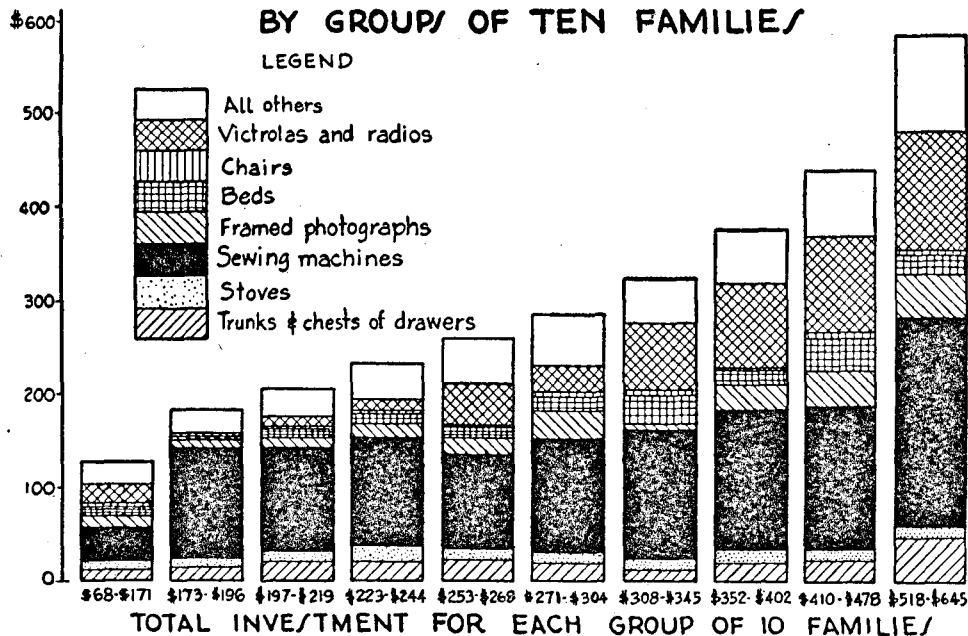
The order in which the household furnishing had been acquired indicates the relative importance of these articles to the newly arrived Filipino. This order is as follows: trunks, stoves, sewing machines, electric irons, framed photographs, beds, chairs, phonographs, chests of drawers, radios, and electric washing machines.<sup>23</sup> The investment in furniture, musical instruments, and equipment by groups of ten families, classified according to their total investment in furniture and household equipment, is shown in Chart 4. The importance of the sewing machine is obvious at a glance at the chart. Also the greater expenditure upon phonographs and radios and framed photographs than upon chairs and beds, regardless of the total amount invested in furniture is likewise apparent. A comparison of the ten groups in the chart shows that there was an actual increase in amount invested in sewing machines, framed photographs, and phonographs and radios, as the total furniture expenditure increased. There was also some, though an irregular, increase in expenditures for beds, and practically no increase in expenditures for chairs.

A comparison of families in Expenditure Groups I, II, and III shows that in general families in the lowest group were

<sup>23</sup> The order of purchase of household items was secured by computing for each item a weight according to order of acquisition. For example, a check was placed in the first column for a chair if it were acquired first of the household items; in the second column if acquired as the second household item, and so on. The first, second, third, etc., columns were then totalled and assigned an arbitrary weight. The first column in which were entered all chairs which were the first item purchased, was weighted five times; the second column, four times; the third column, three times; fourth, two times; fifth, once; and all over fifth, one-half times. The total sum of weights for chairs was divided by 101 to give the weight per item per family. The same method was followed for all other items.

CHART 4.

# TOTAL INVESTMENT IN FURNITURE AND EQUIPMENT BY GROUP OF TEN FAMILIES/



the least well provided with furniture. As shown in Table 20, 32 per cent of the families in the lowest expenditure group had neither chairs nor beds, as contrasted to 18 per cent in Group II, and 8 per cent in Group III.

TABLE 20. PROPORTION OF FAMILIES IN THE THREE EXPENDITURE GROUPS HAVING BEDS AND CHAIRS

Items	Families classified according to amount spent per expenditure unit			All groups
	Under \$160	\$160 to \$259	\$260 and over	
	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	
No chairs or beds	32.4	18.4	7.7	20.8
Chairs and no beds	19.0	2.7	—	7.9
Beds and no chairs	21.6	44.7	11.5	27.7
Beds and chairs	27.0	34.2	80.8	43.6
Beds	48.6	78.9	92.3	71.3
Chairs	46.0	36.9	80.8	51.5

In all there were 21 families with neither beds nor chairs, 29 families with beds but no chairs, 8 families with chairs and no beds, and 43 families with both beds and chairs. An inventory of the furniture in the homes of the 21 families with neither beds nor chairs throws light on what they considered more important. Twenty of the 21 families had trunks; 18 owned one or more large framed pictures; 9 had phonographs; 2 had radios. All owned sewing machines and stoves. There were 2 families, however, which owned nothing but stoves, sewing machines, and trunks.<sup>24</sup>

A comparison of the furniture in the homes of families in the three expenditure groups shows, as might be expected,

<sup>24</sup> One of these two families, found in expenditure Group I, had approximately \$100 in the bank and had sent \$270 to the Philippine Islands for investment in land. Their intention of returning to the Philippine Islands when they had paid for their land obviously explains why they had not purchased furniture. The other family in Group III reported no savings and was \$7 in debt at the end of the year. There were no children at home. This couple had a relatively high expenditure on food and personal items, although other items were no higher than for other families in Group III.

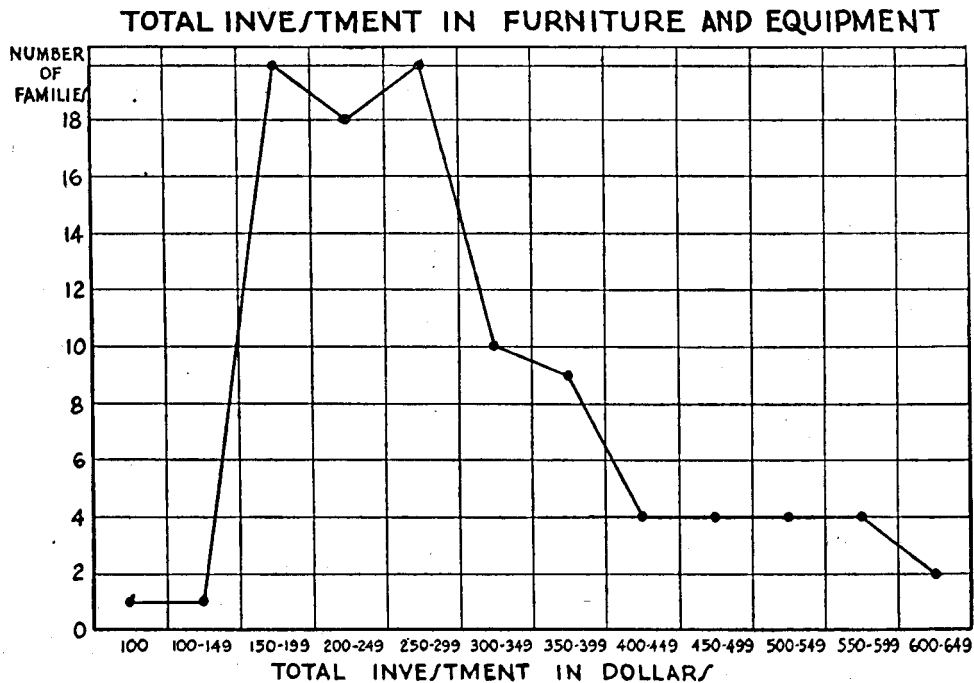
that for many items the proportion of families having the articles, and the number of articles per family, increased with each higher expenditure group. This was true of the following: chairs, phonographs, radios, beds, chests of drawers, bed covers, cooking utensils, silverware, drinking glasses, table cloths, face towels, dish towels, electric sewing machines, and electric washing machines. The difference between the three expenditure groups in purchase price of the various articles was insignificant in most instances. In general, the quality and type of article that was purchased was about the same for all families, a smaller proportion of families in the lowest expenditure group, however, buying the articles, and buying in smaller quantities.

The investment in household furnishings and musical instruments ranged from \$67.52 to \$686.30, and averaged \$339 for all families. The cost of the furniture and equipment (including musical instruments) for one-fourth of the families was less than \$203; half spent under \$268; and one-fourth, over \$360. According to Chart 5 most of the families had spent from \$150 to \$300 on furniture and equipment and musical instruments.

*Expenditures on furniture and furnishings during year.*<sup>25</sup> During the year covered by this study, 100 families paid for furniture and furnishings, ranging in amount from \$.20 to \$141.50, and averaging \$36.28. The expenditures during the year are shown in Tables 21 and 22. Of the 100 families, 57 owed balances on their furniture at the end of the year, averaging in amount \$50.79, or \$28.67 for the 101 families. Thirty-two of these 57 families had made purchases before the beginning of the year covered in this survey; 16 of the 32 with

<sup>25</sup> Phonographs, phonograph records, radios, and other musical instruments are not included in annual expenditures of furniture and furnishings. These are included under expenditures for recreation. See Table 32, p. 172.

CHART 5.



installment balances running from a previous year bought additional furniture on the installment plan during the year, and 25 with no previous installment balance bought on the installment plan during the year. The payments made during the year on furniture bought in previous years averaged \$28.92 for the 32 families, or \$9.16 for all families; and payments made during the year on furniture bought on the installment plan during the year averaged \$20.86 for the 41 families, or \$8.47 for the 101 families. Cash purchases averaged \$18.66 for the 99 families reporting, or \$18.29 for all families.

Installment balances owed at the beginning of the year were decreased by \$9.16 per family during the year, so that of the \$28.67 average balance owed at the end of the year, \$20.87 was owed on purchases made during the year, and \$7.80 on purchases made in previous years. There was a net increase in amount owed on installment purchases of furniture of \$11.70 per family.

*Comparison with household furnishings of rural families in the Philippines.* Although the furniture in many of the homes in this study appears meager indeed when matched with the "American standard," it compares more than favorably with the furnishings in a typical Ilocano farmer home. Lava gives the following inventory of furniture which he considers representative of an Ilocano family with 5 members: living room furniture, 8 straight chairs, 1 mirror, 3 kerosene lamps, 2 "regular" and 1 decorative, and 11 framed pictures; bedroom furniture, 4 mats for sleeping on, 7 pillow cases, 7 covers, 2 pillows, 1 wooden drawer, and 2 chests; kitchen equipment, 2 clay stoves, 1 long bamboo stool, 1 low wooden table, 8 porcelain and wooden dishes, 2 towels, and 1 napkin. The median value of the furniture owned would amount to about 55 pesos (\$27.50).<sup>26</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Lava, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-64.

TABLE 21. EXPENDITURES FOR HOUSEHOLD ARTICLES  
FOR ONE YEAR

Household furnishings	Number families reporting	Percentage of all families	Average number of articles per family reporting	Average expenditure		Range in expenditure	
				per family reporting	per article	Mini- mum amount	Maxi- mum amount
Total	100	99.0	—	\$36.28	—	\$ .20	\$141.80
<i>Living room</i>							
<i>furniture</i>							
All chairs	9	8.9	2.9	4.86	\$1.68	4.00	13.00
Straight	7	6.9	2.6	3.75	1.46	1.47	6.44
Easy	4	4.0	2.0	4.38	2.19	2.50	7.20
Tables	4	4.0	1.3	3.06	2.45	1.49	5.00
Framed photo- graphs	17	16.8	1.4	15.57	11.51	.95	41.24
Linoleum	11	10.9	1.4	2.44	1.79	.20	6.72
<i>Bedroom</i>							
<i>furniture</i>							
All beds	14	13.9	1.1	13.94	12.20	2.00	29.00
Double SM	12	11.9	1.2	14.85	12.73	4.00	29.00
Single SM	2	2.0	1.0	8.50	8.50	2.00	15.00
Trunks	9	8.9	1.0	18.39	18.39	2.00	36.00
Chests of drawers	4	4.0	1.0	8.61	8.61	6.00	15.00
Bedding:							
Sheets	3	3.0	3.7	4.50	1.23	.90	10.00
Pillowslips	8	7.9	9.4	5.08	.54	.80	12.00
Covers:							
All	33	32.7	2.0	5.07	2.57	1.00	17.75
Cotton	24	23.8	2.0	4.05	2.07	1.00	8.75
Woolen	10	9.9	1.7	6.53	3.84	3.00	12.50
Mattress	1	1.0	1.0	4.75	4.75	—	—



TABLE 21. EXPENDITURES FOR HOUSEHOLD ARTICLES  
FOR ONE YEAR (*Continued*)

Household furnishings	Number families reporting	Percentage of all families	Average number of articles per family reporting	Average expenditure		Range in expenditure	
				per family reporting	per article	Mini- mum amount	Maxi- mum amount
<i>Kitchen furniture and equipment</i>							
Kerosene stoves	11	10.9	1.0	7.72	7.72	1.50	17.50
Ice boxes	4	4.0	1.0	5.75	5.75	3.00	10.00
Cooking uten- sils	17	16.0	2.7	3.68	1.36	.25	10.50
Dishes	30	29.7	12.9	2.24	.17	.15	7.80
Silverware	9	8.9	16.9	2.81	.17	3.50	4.00
Drinking glasses	19	18.8	8.8	.83	.09	.10	2.75
Pitchers	4	4.0	1.8	.89	.51	.25	2.56
Linen:							
Table cloths	8	7.9	1.0	.90	.90	.60	1.75
Towels	37	36.6	3.0	.91	.30	.10	2.50
Dish towels	1	1.0	2.0	.40	.20	—	—
<i>Labor-saving equipment</i>							
Foot sewing machines	48	47.5	1.0	32.04	31.39	5.00	106.00
Elec. machines	2	2.0	1.0	28.00	28.00	20.00	36.00
Elec. motor	1	1.0	1.0	12.00	12.00	—	—
Elec. irons	9	8.9	1.2	4.75	3.87	2.00	9.35
Washing machines	11	10.9	1.0	38.82	38.82	20.00	95.00
<i>Miscellaneous</i>							
Alarm clock	1	1.0	1.0	3.50	3.50	—	—
Brooms	11	10.9	1.5	.71	.46	.65	1.30
Brushes	25	24.8	8.9	.58	.06	.05	2.40
Candles	1	1.0	—	.20	—	—	—
Clothes pins	2	2.0	—	.25	—	.25	.25
Elec. light bulbs	24	23.8	4.4	1.15	.26	.25	3.60

TABLE 21. EXPENDITURES FOR HOUSEHOLD ARTICLES  
FOR ONE YEAR (*Concluded*)

Household furnishings	Number families reporting	Percentage of all families	Average number of articles per family reporting	Average expenditure		Range in expenditure	
				per family reporting	per article	Mini- mum amount	Maxi- mum amount
File	2	2.0	1.0	.23	.23	.10	.35
Flash light	1	1.0	1.0	.35	.35	—	—
Hinge	1	1.0	1.0	.35	.35	—	—
Ironing board	1	1.0	1.0	1.45	1.45	—	—
Linen string	2	2.0	1.0	3.43	3.43	2.35	4.50
Lock	1	1.0	1.0	.35	.35	—	—
Massage appar- atus	1	1.0	1.0	15.00	15.00	—	—
Mop handles	4	4.0	1.0	.44	.44	.25	.25
Nails	1	1.0	—	.20	—	—	—
Nipples	13	12.9	17.2	1.23	.07	.35	3.25
Nursing bottles	1	1.0	3.0	.30	.10	—	—
Pail	1	1.0	1.0	1.25	1.25	—	—
Rakes	3	3.0	1.0	.20	.20	.20	.20
Sewing mch. sup.	1	1.0	—	.40	—	—	—
Stove belt	1	1.0	3.0	1.20	.40	—	—
Stove collar	1	1.0	1.0	.90	.90	—	—
Stove cover	1	1.0	1.0	1.05	1.05	—	—
Stove burner	1	1.0	1.0	.45	.45	—	—
Stove hole	1	1.0	1.0	.70	.70	—	—
Stove tubes	7	6.9	2.3	3.06	1.73	1.60	5.00
Stove wicks	27	26.7	1.9	1.01	.55	.35	2.80
Typewriter	1	1.0	1.0	30.00	30.00	—	—
Unknown	2	2.0	—	2.00	—	1.50	2.50
Wash basins	4	4.0	1.0	.76	.76	.25	1.00
Wire	2	2.0	—	.58	—	.40	.75
Wire broiler	1	1.0	1.0	.30	.30	—	—

TABLE 22. PAYMENTS ON INSTALLMENT PURCHASES OF FURNITURE

Items	Purchases before year			Purchases during year			
	Number families	Average amount paid	Average balance due	Number families	Average purchase price	Average amount paid	Average balance due
Average for all families	101	\$9.16	\$7.80	101	—	\$8.47	\$20.87
Average for families reporting	33	30.15	23.88	23	—	23.76	58.54
Beds	—	—	—	1	\$27.00	—	27.00
Ice box	—	—	—	1	15.00	5.00	10.00
Electric iron	—	—	—	1	4.50	2.00	2.50
Framed photographs	4	6.69	—	1	14.05	6.90	7.15
Sewing machines							
Foot	28	33.48	25.64	21	98.19	26.31	71.88
Electric	1	36.00	35.00	1	162.00	20.00	142.00
Electric motor	—	—	—	2	18.00	6.00	12.00
Kerosene stove	—	—	—	1	23.00	5.00	18.00
Trunks	—	—	—	3	28.67	7.67	21.00
Washing machines	2	41.50	14.00	7	76.11	32.68	43.43

Runes makes the following comment on furniture of families living on sugar haciendas in the Philippines:

The ease with which household belongings were appraised is traced to their almost complete lack of them. In about one hundred and ninety houses visited, there were only three that had beds, two of which were made of bamboo and one of iron with rattan weaving. The Filipino peasant still considers a bed a luxury and would not see the difference between sleeping on the floor on mats made of buri or pandan leaves and sleeping in a bed of any make. There were a few homemade chairs, or one or two long benches of wood or split bamboo, and about 50 per cent had tables for various uses. Most of these tables were constructed low to permit the members of the family to squat on the floor around it during meal time and save them from using chairs or stools. A few more of the household furnishings were one or two

trunks used as benches to sit on, cheap mirrors, mats, pillows, kerosene lamps, kitchen utensils; and the workers' implements, such as spade, hoe, scythe, bolo, etc. All these belongings seldom reach a value of twenty pesos per family.<sup>27</sup>

It is interesting to note the differences and similarities between the furniture of Filipino families in Hawaii and that of typical rural families in the Philippines. Absent in the furniture inventory of families in the Philippines and present in that of Filipinos in Hawaii are comfortable chairs, or settees, beds, phonographs, kerosene stoves, silverware, sewing machines, washing machines, musical instruments, and linoleum. The large framed pictures, so much in demand in Hawaii, are also acquired by the rural families in their homeland. Although peasant families in the Philippines have mirrors, only one mirror was found hanging on a wall in any of the 101 homes in this study.

Filipinos early acquire the ability to sit comfortably on their heels for hours, and during the interviews many of the men and women preferred to squat on the floor in their traditional manner rather than to sit on a bench or chair, the long hair of the women frequently falling about them on the floor. If several women gathered together on a *lanai* (Hawaiian word for porch) for a visit, they would usually be seen squatting on their heels rather than sitting on chairs or even on porch steps. The customs of the Philippines are only slowly supplanted by practices in the new country, even though the new equipment may be acquired.

<sup>27</sup> Runes, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21.

## CHAPTER IX

### CLOTHING AND PERSONAL CARE

*Clothing.* That clothing worn by Filipino laborers and their families in Hawaii gives greater personal satisfaction than that worn by the mass of people in the Philippines can be little doubted. Yet each district in the Philippines has its indigenous styles, usually attractive and harmonious. There is pride in hand-loomed and often embroidered garments; and the homogeneity of clothing may compensate for lack of variety by promoting unselfconscious contentment.

The work clothes of field laborers in Hawaii are very similar to those worn in agricultural work in the Philippines. In Hawaii, field laborers wear a wide-brimmed hat and scarf which is tied over the hat and under the chin to prevent the cane leaves from cutting the face and neck, trousers usually of blue dungaree, shirts of a heavy cotton material, cotton undershirts and shorts, heavy leather work shoes, and if the work requires it, high rubber boots. Heavy cotton gloves are usually worn to protect the hands from the sharp cane leaves, and during colder or rainy weather dungaree jackets or sweaters are worn. Some laborers have raincoats. In the Philippines most of the farmers and laborers on plantations go barefooted in the fields as well as at home. If shoes are worn in the fields, they are a native-style, rope-soled work boot, and at home the "chinelas" (heelless slippers), somewhat like carpet slippers, are worn.<sup>1</sup> In fact, Mr. Ramon

<sup>1</sup> See Hart, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-118, for description of clothing worn in the Philippines. Also Frederick F. Field and Elizabeth Brown Field, "Conditions of Labor," in Bruno Lasker, *op. cit.*, p. 437.

Torres, Secretary of the Department of Labor in the Philippines, estimates that only about 15 per cent of the Philippine population use shoes at all, and that 75 per cent of the laborers cannot afford to buy leather shoes.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, the rope-soled work boots, frequently worn by the farmers, are inexpensive, durable, cool, and comfortable, allowing water to run through and out again and the foot to dry. These meet the needs of laborers in the Philippines living in the hot lowlands along the sea coast. Although the laborers in the Philippines are not provided with jackets and sweaters or raincoats as in Hawaii, they have some form of additional wraps for colder weather.

The work clothes for workers employed in the sugar mill in Hawaii are typical of most factory workers—overalls or trousers and shirts, cotton underwear, and shoes.<sup>3</sup>

The underwear—shirts and shorts—worn by most men was made from rice bags. The men usually wore nothing but their underwear around home, as was their practice in the Philippines.<sup>4</sup> If strangers were present, or if it were chilly, they put on a Japanese-style kimono. These were always of bright design and usually of cotton material, although silk ones were occasionally noted.

The chief difference between clothing of laborers in Hawaii and in the Philippines is in their street clothes. It is safe to state that every laborer in Hawaii has at least one suit of street clothes. This is not true of laborers or farmers in the Philippines, although the need for street suits is considerably less in the Philippines than in Hawaii. Lava states that the head of the household in the Ilocos district wears pants and a shirt when he is dressed for a special occasion, and Runes writes,

<sup>2</sup> Ramon Torres, *The Philippine Labor Situation*. (Institute of Pacific Relations.) Manila, 1938, p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Work clothes, exclusive of underwear, for all laborers averaged \$27, 46 per cent of their clothing expenditure for the year. If underwear were included, work clothes amounted to \$31, 51 per cent of the total expenditure.

<sup>4</sup> Lava, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-52.

"Suits are unknown to groups of farm workers on sugar haciendas."<sup>5</sup> The suits of clothes worn in Hawaii were usually tailor made, and frequently striped or checked with a prominent pattern, although some navy blue suits were also noted. The men paid from \$12 to \$50 for the suits, those bought during the year averaging \$27.65. Such purchases were often made when the contract pay was received, or were bought on \$2 to \$5 monthly installments. Forty husbands purchased suits during the year, 11 of them buying more than one.<sup>6</sup> The men slept in their work clothes or underwear, as is their custom in the Philippines, although it is interesting to note that four men purchased pajamas and one a night shirt during the year.

Expenditures for clothing by the heads of the household in this study ranged from \$1 to \$253, the 101 husbands averaging \$59.<sup>7</sup> In all but 10 families the husband's clothing cost more than the wife's. Clothing expenditures for the wives averaged \$35, 58 per cent of that of their husbands'.<sup>8</sup> The range in clothing expenditures of husbands and wives is shown in Table 23.

In low-income families the husband's clothing expenditure may be somewhat higher than that of the wife's, although the

<sup>5</sup> Runes, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

<sup>6</sup> Thirty heads of the household purchased one suit. Eight bought two suits, one four suits costing \$122, and one five suits costing \$93. The family that purchased the four suits returned to the Philippine Islands a short time later, taking with them about \$175 in cash. The family that purchased five suits during the year consisted of husband, aged 34 years, wife, aged 24 years, and one child four months of age. The husband earned \$599 in his plantation job, and about \$500 was earned by the husband and wife in other work. The husband's total clothing expenditure amounted to \$253, the wife's, \$100, and the baby's \$23. The family had an automobile and spent \$182 during the year on upkeep and repairs. A baptismal celebration cost \$42, insurance \$53, recreation \$43, and food \$264. Clothing formed the largest percentage in their budget.

<sup>7</sup> Half the men spent less than \$52, 10 less than \$10, and 20 less than \$20. Seventeen husbands spent between \$100 and \$253.

<sup>8</sup> Half of the wives spent less than \$22 for the year on their clothing; 31 wives spent less than \$10. But there were 8 wives who spent between \$100 and \$151. Purchases of jewelry account for a significant amount of the money spent by the 8 women reporting more than \$100.

difference between that of the husband and wife in this study is greater than is found in most studies.<sup>9</sup> In fact, the husband's clothing cost more than any age group with the exception of sons over 17 years of age. These young men spent 18 per cent more than their fathers. The relative

TABLE 23. CLOTHING EXPENDITURE OF HUSBANDS AND WIVES

Clothing expenditures	Husbands		Wives	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Under \$10	10	9.9	31	30.7
\$ 10 - \$ 19.99	10	9.9	18	17.8
20 - 29.99	10	9.9	9	8.9
30 - 39.99	10	9.9	14	13.8
40 - 49.99	9	8.9	8	7.9
50 - 59.99	9	8.9	3	3.0
60 - 69.99	9	8.9	3	3.0
70 - 79.99	13	12.9	2	2.0
80 - 89.99	—	—	4	4.0
90 - 99.99	4	4.0	1	1.0
100 - 109.99	5	4.9	4	4.0
110 - 149.99	7	6.9	3	3.0
150 and over	5	4.9	1	1.0
<i>Average expenditure</i>				
Mean	\$59.39		\$33.36	
Median	52.00		21.80	

<sup>9</sup> In a study of money disbursements of wage earners in five cities in the West North Central Mountain Region, 1934-36, women and girls 18 years of age and over in the lowest economic level (families spending under \$400 per expenditure unit per year) spent 96 per cent as much on clothing as men and boys 18 years of age and over in the same group. See Faith M. Williams and Alice C. Hanson, *Money Disbursements of Wage Earners and Clerical Workers in Five Cities in the West North Central Mountain Region, 1934-36*. Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor, Bulletin No. 641, 1939, pp. 57, 61.

In a study of money disbursements of wage earners in Chicago, 1935-36, the wife's clothing expenditure exceeded the husband's in each of four income groups under \$1,500 from 6.6 per cent to 39 per cent. (The wife's expenditures ranged from an average of \$16 to \$40 in these groups.) See Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Family Expenditure in Chicago, 1935-36*, U.S. Department of Labor, Bulletin No. 642, 1939, p. 154.

Likewise, an analysis of clothing expenditures of husbands and wives in 2,778 farm families in the United States, 1922-24, shows that the wife spent one per cent more on her clothing than her husband spent on his. Ellis L. Kirkpatrick, *The Farmer's Standard of Living*. The Century Co., 1929, p. 106.



expenditures on clothing for the different age and sex groups is shown in Chart 6. Girls' clothing cost more than the boys' in each age group through 17 years. Since there were no girls over 17, it is impossible to state what the relationship would be beyond this age. Expenditures on jewelry for the girls account to a large extent for the higher amounts spent on their clothing than on that of the boys.

In general the Filipino wives are not so neat in appearance as their husbands and their clothes lack the trimness, color, and dash of the men's. Among many peoples the social mores restrict the ways in which a virtuous woman may make herself attractive after marriage, and elaborate dress and adornment are reserved for special occasions. With married women of the poorer classes in most if not all cultural groups of the Philippines, as also throughout parts of Malaysia and in India, the money available for clothes over and above the minimum essential is spent for jewelry, which not only furnishes a means of investment, but advertises to all who see it the prosperity of the family.

The everyday clothing of the women was very similar to that worn in the Philippines—a one-piece cotton dress and chemise and underskirt, usually made from rice bags, or a cotton skirt of traditional long full style tucked up at the side, and a loose sleeveless camisole blouse. The women in Hawaii, however, had at least one street dress, usually of silk or rayon. The ready-made dresses averaged \$3.19 and the homemade, \$2.67. Some owned a good Philippine-style dress, but it was by no means a universal possession in this group. The Philippine-style dresses purchased during the year averaged \$14.85 in cost. The women go barefooted, as they do in the Philippines, sometimes wearing Japanese or Filipino slippers when outdoors. In contrast to the women in the Philippines, however, most of the women in Hawaii possess a pair of street shoes, costing about \$3 on the average, and at

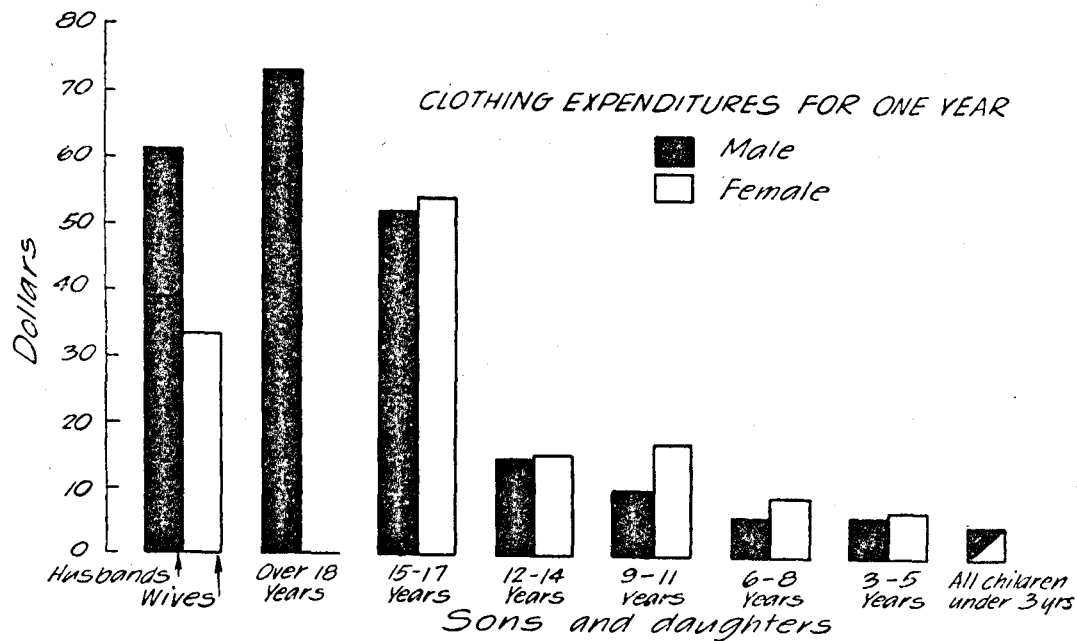


CHART 6.

Relative Average Clothing Expenditures for One Year  
for Persons Classified in Sex and Age Groups.

least one pair of silk or cotton stockings. When it is cool, they customarily put on sweaters although a few women have Japanese silk coats called *haori*. The women and girls seldom wear hats, but use a scarf if a head covering is needed. Like the men, most of the women do not have night garments, but sleep in their day clothing or undergarments. Ten women bought nightgowns during the year. The women have not generally adopted the use of the modern sanitary napkin, nor a washable napkin, but resort to wearing additional underclothing.

Almost all of the women wear gold earrings, usually long ones, which dangle from their ears. Many women also have elaborate gold necklaces, which are worn constantly, regardless of their occupation. A few wear gold bracelets, and a few, rings. Almost all the jewelry is imported from the Philippines. If it is locally made, it is designed according to the style of the Philippine-made jewelry. One wife only was observed wearing jewelry which came from the 5 and 10 cent store. During the year under observation the women spent an average of 22 per cent of their \$32.25 clothing expenditure on jewelry. Thirty-two made purchases averaging \$23.22. The earrings which they bought had an average price of \$8.78 (range of \$3.25 to \$20); necklaces, \$20.25 (range of \$12 to \$35); and rings \$26.25 (range of \$2.50 to \$50). Most of the jewelry was bought by the women with money they earned themselves, although a few families spent some of their contract pay for it. The importance in which jewelry is held is revealed by the fact that the average deficit for the 32 families buying jewelry was \$21, considerably higher than the deficit for the 101 families.<sup>10</sup> Men's watches, purchased during the year by 11 husbands, averaged in cost \$10.18.

<sup>10</sup> Of the 32 families purchasing jewelry, 13 ended the year with an average surplus of \$93.58; 15 families with an average deficit of \$126.73; and 4 came out even. This averaged a deficit of \$21 for the 32 families.

As with the underwear of the adults, rice bags were widely used in clothing the children. Diapers and short everyday dresses for babies were made from this material, though each child was usually provided with one or two purchased dresses for special occasions. As soon as a baby could walk, the diapers were removed but the dress remained about navel high until longer clothes were safe. When they were about three years old, the boys were usually dressed in overalls, and the girls in slightly longer dresses, some with underwear, but many without. In cool weather parents wrapped their children in kimonos over their regular clothes. Children in the rural districts in the Philippines likewise wear the short garment, and usually up to the age of twelve go about without drawers.<sup>11</sup>

As the Filipino children reached school age in Hawaii, they wore apparel similar to that of their contemporaries in mainland farm communities. The boys were dressed in overalls and went barefoot, the girls wore simple cotton dresses, with underwear made from rice bags or inexpensive cotton material. Some of the older girls, especially those in the 8th grade, were found wearing high-heeled pumps to school, though they discarded them as soon as they returned home.

It is customary for a baby girl's ears to be pierced for earrings before the child is a year old, and earrings are inserted as soon as possible. The piercing costs \$1 to \$2 and the earrings \$1 to \$5. Many small children ranging in age from five or six months to three or four years of age wore a bullet embedded in gold on a string around their necks. This, according to one mother, is a charm which protects them from the evil thoughts of strangers, and is worn until the child is old enough to talk. It is a custom followed in the Philippines, although most of the mothers could not tell what

<sup>11</sup> Lava, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

the bullet signified, merely explaining that it was customary for small children to wear it. It may be of phallic significance, taken over from Chinese sources, and expressing hope for the continuation of the family.<sup>12</sup>

The expenditures for clothing by the families ranged from \$2.50 to \$455, averaging \$143; with half the families spending less than \$117, and 20 families spending less than \$50. There were 8 families spending as much as \$300 to \$455. As the family income increased, not only a larger amount, but a larger proportion of the family's total expenditures was spent for clothing.<sup>13</sup> The expenditure for clothing per clothing expenditure unit averaged \$23 in the lowest expenditure group, \$60 in the second, and \$85 in the highest group. The clothing records show that many of the persons in the lowest expenditure group were inadequately clothed. Many of the small children did not have warm clothing, and many of the adults were not adequately supplied for the cooler weather.

Because of the small amount of cash many families received, most of their clothing had to be purchased from the plantation store on credit. In all cases, practically all of the husbands' work clothing, and the everyday clothing of the wife and children were bought at the plantation store. If a family had cash or necessary credit, the street suits of the husband, street shoes, and the good clothes of the wife and children were purchased in Honolulu. A number of families reported purchasing clothing of this nature from mail order houses in Chicago and on the Pacific Coast.

The amount spent on clothing by families in Hawaii is much greater than by families in the Philippines, largely because of the greater variety of garments worn. Lava esti-

<sup>12</sup> According to Bruno Lasker. The mounting of the bullet was done in Honolulu.

<sup>13</sup> The average expenditure for families in Group I is \$66; for those in Group II, \$175; those in Group III, \$206. In Group I clothing expenditure forms 13 per cent of the family's total expenditures; 22 per cent in Group II and 22 per cent in Group III; 19.8 per cent for the 101 families.



On the way home from grammar school (*see page 147*)



Summer vacation (*see page 147*)

mated that the average Ilocano household had on hand at the time of his investigation about 70 pesos (\$35) worth of clothing. He assumed an average life-time of five years for the clothing and estimated that the yearly cost was approximately 15 pesos (\$7.50), or 3 pesos per person (\$1.50).<sup>14</sup> This was 6 per cent of their family expenditure. Runes estimated that the typical family on a sugar hacienda in the Philippines spends approximately 21 pesos (\$10.50) for their clothing, 11 per cent of their total expenditure.<sup>15</sup> Added to this, however, there was often home-made, native-style apparel which called for little or no expenditure of money. This money expenditure is sharply in contrast to that of the Hawaii Filipino family of \$143, 14 per cent of the value of their living.

*Personal items.* Unlike the American families, most of the expenditures for personal items are made by the Filipino men and boys. The average expenditure for the year for the 95 families reporting detailed records shows the relative emphasis in expenditures on these personal items:

Haircuts	\$4.14
Hair oil	2.85
Tooth paste	1.92
Combs worn by women	1.32
Face powder	1.14
Tooth brushes	.98
Cold cream	.87
Razor sets	.42
Hair dresser	.39
Hair tonics	.37
Pocket knives	.34

All other items averaged less than 25 cents. Of these items, expenditures specifically for the men and boys total \$8.12, and for the women and girls, \$3.72. Undoubtedly this is due in part to the sex ratio which leads the men, not the women,

<sup>14</sup> Lava, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-52.

<sup>15</sup> Runes, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

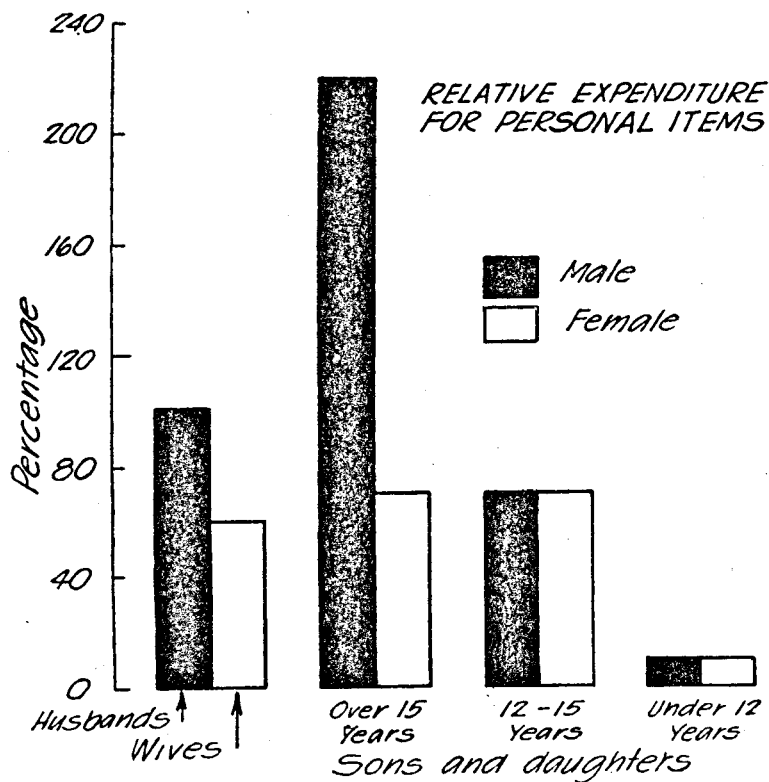


CHART 7.

Relative Average Expenditures for One Year for Personal Items  
for Persons Classified in Sex and Age Groups.



to vie for attention. This difference is clearly shown in Chart 7.

In families in which there were sons in their teens or employed, the annual haircut bill was fairly large. The barber in the Filipino Club, patronized by most of the men and boys, charged 35 cents for one haircut a month, 70 cents for two, and \$1 for three or four. For this reason many men reported four haircuts a month. The children were charged 25 cents. The bill was turned over to the plantation office and the amount deducted from the monthly pay. In 38 families there was no expenditure for haircuts, the husband having his hair cut by a friend, and he in turn cutting his children's hair. In many of the 57 families in which expenditures were reported, the husbands' or boys' hair was also cut free part of the time.

The prevailing custom of bobbed hair has not affected the Filipino women and elder girls, for all, without a single exception, wore their hair long, either hanging down their backs or pulled tightly back and literally tied in a knot at the base of the neck, with a comb holding the knot in place. Sixty-six women bought combs for their hair during the year, some of the more expensive ones being of tortoise shell and costing as much as \$48. Although hairpins were practically never seen, 40 women reported buying one or more packages. The hair of many little girls was allowed to grow long when they were five or six years of age. If the children's hair was bobbed, it was always cut by one of the parents or by a friend. The beauty parlor was patronized by an 18-year old wife, and an 11-year old, 15-year old, and two 17-year old girls, mostly for permanent waves. Both girls 17 years of age paid their bills from money they earned during the year. The amounts spent were \$3.75, \$5, \$1.50, \$4.50, and \$23 respectively.

Hair oil which is rubbed on the hair, making it oily and very shiny, was used almost universally by men and older sons. In general the wives did not oil their hair, although 27

TABLE 24. EXPENDITURES FOR CARE OF THE PERSON

Items	Number of families reporting	Percentage of all families	Average expenditure for families reporting	Range in expenditures	
				Minimum amount	Maximum amount
All families	101	100.0	\$16.52	\$ .75	\$82.82
No expenditures reported	6	5.9	—	—	—
Expenditures reported	95	94.1	17.56	.75	82.82
Husbands and sons:					
Haircuts	57	56.4	6.66	.35	34.47
Razor sets	25	24.8	1.61	.25	5.00
Razor blades	18	17.8	1.15	.25	4.20
Astringent compound	1	1.0	2.00	—	—
Hair oil	85	84.2	3.19	.20	12.60
Barber shears	6	5.9	3.23	1.35	9.00
Combs	51	50.5	.41	.10	1.75
Hair brushes	2	2.0	1.00	.75	1.25
Shoe polish	10	9.9	1.67	.25	7.20
Pocket knives	25	24.8	1.30	.25	5.75
Wives and daughters:					
Hairdresser	5	5.0	7.55	1.50	23.00
Combs worn in hair*	66	65.3	1.90	.10	8.00
Hair ornaments	2	2.0	.40	.30	.50
Hair brushes	11	10.9	.21	.10	1.00
Hair pins	40	39.6	.26	.05	2.00
Hair nets	4	4.0	.24	.10	.50
Cold cream	45	44.6	1.92	.25	8.00
Face powder	77	76.2	1.41	.10	6.50
Rouge	2	2.0	.23	.10	.35
Lipstick	2	2.0	1.25	1.00	1.50
Manicuring supplies	4	4.0	.28	.20	.35
Perfume	3	3.0	2.37	1.00	3.60
Entire family:					
Tooth brushes	85	84.2	1.59	.10	17.70
Tooth paste	74	73.3	2.55	.25	9.00
Mouth wash	12	11.9	.48	.25	1.00
Hair tonics	13	12.9	2.69	.50	7.20
Hair shampoo	9	8.9	1.42	.10	6.00
Face lotion	8	7.9	2.09	.35	6.00
Hand lotion	1	1.0	.50	—	—
Tweezers	6	5.9	.17	.10	.30
Nail files	5	5.0	.23	.05	.50
Safety pins	66	65.3	.14	.05	.50
Common pins	28	27.7	.09	.05	.35

\* A comb purchased by one wife for \$48 is included under jewelry.

wives reported either buying hair oil for their own use, or using that purchased for the husband or sons. The oil is in paste form and usually costs 35 or 50 cents a jar, depending upon the brand. Families in which there were sons over 14 years of age frequently reported buying regularly one or more jars a month, and spending between \$6 and \$12 a year for the oil. Hair tonics were purchased by 13 families and were generally used by both the husband and wife.

Face powder was purchased by 27 women and cold cream by 45 women. Only two women reported the purchase of rouge or lipstick, a fact indicative of how little they have been influenced by American customs in their personal habits.

Expenditures for personal items ranged from \$.75 to \$82.82 per family, half the families spending less than \$14.45, and 8 families more than \$40 for the year. The larger expenditures are accounted for by one or more grown sons in the family. The detailed items are shown in Table 24.

## CHAPTER X

### MEDICAL SERVICE

Free medical care is provided workers and their families at the plantation hospital and clinic regardless of whether or not the ailments originate as a consequence of employment. If an illness cannot be properly treated in the plantation hospital, the patient is transferred to a Honolulu hospital and all charges paid by the plantation. At the time of the survey the plantation hospital was housed in an old frame building, inadequately equipped, but in 1936 a new hospital with modern facilities was built.

A baby clinic is held bi-weekly by the Health Service Staff at which the babies are weighed, measured, and examined, and their teeth charted. An effort is made to examine all babies under one year of age at least once each month. In addition to advice as to general care, mothers are instructed in regard to the kind and amount of food needed for their babies. A prenatal clinic is also held at which expectant mothers are taught by means of x-ray pictures the effect of diet upon the bone and tooth development of the child.

Kindergarten children are weighed and measured each month during the school year by the Health Center Staff and their minor ailments are cared for by a plantation nurse.

A "prevention" class was formed in the early part of 1934, made up of the under-par children from the first three grades in school. They received special food and rest, and also the

services of the school dentist who removed all their abscessed teeth.

At the time of the survey, the nurses in the hospital were mostly Filipino, trained in the Philippines. Although their training was undoubtedly inferior to nurses' training in the United States, their employment was almost essential because of the large proportion of patients who were Filipino, speaking little English. In the summer of 1934 the physician who had been on the plantation for a number of years and who had proved unsatisfactory was replaced by a young doctor. The new physician for greater efficiency replaced all the Filipino nurses by "haole" (white) nurses from Honolulu—an undoubted improvement from a medical standpoint, but the long and patient efforts on the part of certain welfare workers on the plantation in building up the confidence of Filipinos in the hospital was temporarily destroyed.

In such a group as the Filipinos, ideas of sickness and health are knit with religious beliefs, and their acceptance of modern health practices involves fundamental changes in their thinking. In the rural districts of the Philippines, most of which lack hospital facilities, modern medical services are looked upon with suspicion, and the *barrios* are visited only occasionally by a nurse or physician. It is little to be wondered at that the newcomers in Hawaii at first rejected the services of the medical staff and the facilities of the hospital, and clung to their ancient social and religious practices surrounding illnesses and childbirth.

The native practices at the time of child birth led to a high infant mortality rate. The manager of the plantation finally issued an edict (which does not apply to other racial groups on the plantation) requiring every Filipino mother to be confined in the hospital or pay a fine of five dollars. It was the custom, particularly among the Ilocano folk, for the mother and new-born babe to be confined for from several days to a week in a room where there is no ventilation and

where a small stove, burning charcoal and filling the room with smoke, stands at her side. In this way it is believed the mother and child are purified. In spite of the rule that the mother deliver the baby in the hospital, the "smoking" process continued to be practiced by some parents after the mother returned from the hospital, and during the year of the study the manager found it necessary to forbid any further "smoking" of mother or child.

Treatment accorded the new child dates back in antiquity. He is bathed with warm water in which herbs of supposed medicinal value have been boiled. The mother also bathes with herbal water and drinks a strong concoction of herbs for a week or so. The infant is treated daily with a hot piece of cloth pressed against its abdomen at several different times, regardless of weather temperature, but preferably done in the morning and in the evening. Incense, and sometimes holy oil, are burned to drive away the *anitos* or spirits, and sometimes food is left on the door step to make friends with and pacify them. Malayan customs are not neglected as a rule, although deference is paid equally to the Catholic dicta; and hence the child must be baptised as soon as possible.<sup>1</sup>

A clinic on the plantation is held daily during the week from 8 a.m. to 4 p.m. and during the mornings on Sundays. Ailments not requiring hospitalization are treated by the plantation doctor, assisted by a nurse. Patients requiring medicinal or first aid supplies, such as bandage and adhesive tape, are supplied by the clinic.<sup>2</sup> The services of the clinic were used by members of 82 families who made a total of 1,315 clinic visits.<sup>3</sup> The type of ailment treated is shown in

<sup>1</sup> The discussion of the treatment of the new child is adapted from Cariaga, *op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> Medicine furnished for treatment of colds was provided more frequently than any other kind.

<sup>3</sup> Of the 82 families, 31 were in Group I, 31 in Group II, and 20 in Group III. Average number of visits per family in Group I was 16; in Group II, 13; and in Group III, 9.

Table 25. The largest number of visits were for treatment of pains in various parts of the body—rheumatism, aches, infections, fatigue, etc., grouped under “miscellaneous pains;” the second largest for boils; and the third for coughs and colds.

TABLE 25. DIAGNOSIS AND NUMBER OF CLINIC VISITS

Diagnosis	Number of families	Total number of clinic visits
Total	82	1315*
<i>Allergy diseases</i>		
Asthma	3	15
<i>Digestive diseases</i>		
Colitis	1	1
Diarrhea	3	3
Sore throat	5	14
Stomach trouble	17	37
Tonsilitis	1	5
<i>Ear trouble</i>	9	18
<i>Eye diseases</i>	15	21
<i>Infectious diseases</i>		
Boils	17	141
Colds or coughs	36	133
Infections	9	43
Mumps	4	5
Skin infections	7	13
Stiff neck	1	2
Whooping cough	1	1
<i>Injuries to organs and special structures</i>		
Bruises	6	26
Burn	1	1
Contusion of chest	3	8
Dog bite	1	1
Eye injury	9	24
Falls	2	2
Finger injuries	11	34
Fracture	1	1
Head injury	1	2
Lacerations	7	35
Nail wounds	3	12
Sprains	6	16

TABLE 25. DIAGNOSIS AND NUMBER OF CLINIC VISITS (*Continued*)

Diagnosis	Number of families	Total number of clinic visits
<i>Respiratory diseases</i>	10	33
<i>Miscellaneous</i>		
Convalescent from hospital	4	10
Dizziness	1	1
Fever	20	46
Headache	22	51
Miscellaneous pains	37	290
Sores	10	12
Toothache	5	7
Unclassified	4	5
Weakness	6	8
Medical supplies	61	229

\* There is some overlapping in the number of visits. If a person took home medicine when he attended the clinic for some other reason the visit has been included under both "medical supplies" and the category designating the purpose of his visit.

A variety of injuries resulting from accidents were treated at the clinic. These included bruises, burns, contusion of the chest, dog bites, eye injuries, falls, finger injuries, fractures, gun wounds, lacerations, nail wounds, and sprains. The practice of going bare foot inevitably leads to a certain amount of foot injury.

One or more members in 58 families received hospitalization during the year, totaling 881 hospital days.<sup>4</sup> There was no outstanding disease condition or epidemic during the year covered, but a small number of the ordinary illnesses found in any community. According to Table 26, the greatest number of days of hospitalization was for maternity cases, the second for fractures and injuries, and the third for pneumonia.

<sup>4</sup> Of the 58 families receiving hospitalization, 26 were in Group I, 21 in Group II, and 11 in Group III. Average number of hospital days per family in Group I was 9.5; in Group II, 7.7; and in Group III, 9.2—high because of several accident cases.



TABLE 26. DIAGNOSIS AND NUMBER OF HOSPITAL DAYS

Diagnosis	Number of families	Total number of hospital days
Total	58	881
<i>Allergy diseases</i>	3	18
<i>Deficiency diseases</i>		
Beriberi	2	8
<i>Digestive diseases</i>		
Appendicitis	2	18
Gastroenteritis	5	14
Tonsillitis	1	2
<i>Diseases of urinary organs</i>		
Acute nephritis	1	1
<i>Ear diseases</i>	2	12
<i>Eye diseases</i>	4	22
<i>Infectious diseases</i>		
Acute cellulitis	1	1
Carbuncle	3	15
Epidemic parotitis	3	21
Furuncle nose	1	5
Infected hand	1	2
Influenza	8	34
Tubercular meningitis	2	18
Tuberculosis	1	15
Upper respiratory	4	18
<i>Injury to organs and special structures</i>		
Burn	1	22
Fracture	4	147
Laceration	1	1
Hematomia	1	1
Multiple abrasion	1	2
Sacroiliac strain	1	5
Sprain	1	3
<i>Maternity</i>	36	184
New babies	31	138
<i>Respiratory diseases</i>		
Bronchitis	5	23
Pneumonia	7	93
<i>Miscellaneous</i>		
Catarrhal fever	3	4
Convulsions	1	2
Teething	1	1
Unclassified	3	29

Wives in 33 families received hospital care at the time of child birth, and in 3 families because of miscarriage or threatened miscarriage. These 36 cases and the 31 new-born babies account for 322 of the total 881 hospital days. Unless there is some unusual circumstance, the mother and baby are discharged from the hospital the third or fourth day after the birth of the baby. Although the mother usually has extra help in her home when she returns, furnished by some relative or good neighbor, or occasionally by her husband's remaining home from work, she no longer stays in bed, but assumes the care of the baby, even to laundering of the diapers. In making a visit to one home for the first time, the writer was dismayed to find that the young woman who had just finished hanging up diapers and who insisted upon giving the only two chairs in the room to the two investigators, and squatting on the floor, had a baby only four days of age. The frequent child bearing and inadequate care after the birth of the baby probably account to some extent for the poor posture, flabby, protruding abdomens, and aged appearance of the women.

Twenty-eight persons in 21 families were in the hospital 168 days because of influenza, upper respiratory diseases, pneumonia or bronchitis. The largest proportion of these 28 persons were small children.

Six husbands and 4 sons spent 181 days in the hospital because of injuries resulting from accidents.<sup>5</sup> Other diseases treated at the hospital included asthma, beriberi, appendicitis, gastroenteritis, tonsillitis, tonsillectomy, nephritis, eye and ear infections, skin infections, boils, carbuncles and the like, convulsions, and a number of unclassified illnesses.

During the year there were 3 children, aged five months, ten months, and five years, who died from tubercular meningitis, a 2-year old child died from lobar pneumonia, a 6-months old baby from bronchial asthma, and the wife's brother in one of the families, as well as his two young children,

<sup>5</sup> A rather serious injury in the case of one husband accounts for 107 of the 181 days.

succumbed to bronchial pneumonia.<sup>6</sup> There were two stillbirths.

The mortality rate for respiratory infections is higher in Hawaii than on the mainland of the United States. According to Table 27, Filipinos appear to be particularly susceptible to pneumonia and tuberculosis, the mortality rate of Filipinos for these two diseases being higher than for the Territory as a whole.

TABLE 27. MORTALITY RATES FOR RESPIRATORY DISEASES FOR FILIPINOS, ALL GROUPS IN HAWAII, AND FOR THE UNITED STATES, FOR 1934

Cause of death	Rate per 100,000 population		
	Filipinos	Territory of Hawaii	United States
Diseases of respiratory system	198.2	156.2	90.7
Bronchitis	8.5	7.6	3.3
Broncho-pneumonia	92.3	61.9	33.1
Lobar pneumonia	92.3	75.6	47.3
Pleurisy	1.7	4.2	2.3
Asthma	1.7	3.4	1.6
Other diseases of the respiratory system (except tuberculosis)	1.7	2.6	1.2
Influenza	12.0	13.7	17.3
Tuberculosis of respiratory system	123.0	78.0	51.1

From data compiled by the Bureau of Vital Statistics, Board of Health, Territory of Hawaii, 1939. Unpublished table.

The health of certain families appeared to be particularly uncertain, all the members being subject to colds and other respiratory infections, or to boils, skin infections, headaches, and the like. Although all but 10 families in the survey used the medical services provided by the plantation, there were 30 families that made 71 per cent of the total clinic visits, and 22 families that accounted for 71 per cent of the total number of hospital days. Combining the two analyses, there were 43

<sup>6</sup> The brother and his children are not included in the records of the family with whom they were living as their income and expenditures had been kept separate.

families who received about three-fourths of the medical service provided by the plantation.

There appears to be but little relationship between total family expenditure and the amount of medical care received from the plantation. Of the 43 families receiving most of the medical care, 17 were in the lowest expenditure group; 17 in Group II, and 9 in Group III, these comprising 46 per cent of Group I, 45 per cent of Group II, and 35 per cent of Group III respectively. There appears to be a slight relationship between food expenditure and amount of medical care, the 43 families forming the following proportions of the three food groups: 47 per cent of families spending less than \$75 per adult male; 41 per cent of families spending between \$75 and \$99 per adult male; and 39 per cent of families spending \$100 and over. Likewise there appears to be some relationship between medical care and consumption of rice, as the consumption of other foods which give greater protection to diseases must be reduced if a larger amount of rice is consumed. According to Table 28, families receiving the greatest amount of medical care formed the lowest proportion in the group that spent \$75 and over per food unit, and consumed under 35 pounds per food unit of rice during the four weeks the families were visited.

In spite of the fact that medical service and supplies are provided free by the plantation to all the Filipino families, 55 families reported expenditures during the year for medical supplies or physician's fees, ranging from 35 cents to \$63.<sup>7</sup> Purchases of salve were frequently reported, some families stating they paid 50 cents a month regularly for this. Various brands of so-called stimulants and other patent medicines were purchased at frequent intervals by some families.

The plantation does not provide free dental service for the workers and their families. School children may receive

<sup>7</sup> All but 3 families reported expenditure under \$10. The \$63 expenditure was for an illegal abortion.

dental care at cost (plus a service fee of \$1) from the school dentist who visits the plantation once a year. The children of school age in the families in this study were all examined for caries, and 93 per cent were found to have one or more decayed teeth. Of the 96 women examined, 76 per cent had decayed teeth. The incidence of dental decay in the Filipino women appears to be increasing, for in 1930 only 43 per cent of women attending pre-natal clinics were found with decayed teeth, but in 1933 76 per cent of Filipino women enrolled in the pre-natal clinics had decayed teeth.

TABLE 28. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AMOUNT OF RICE CONSUMED PER FOOD UNIT AND MEDICAL CARE

Annual expenditure and rice consumption in 4 week period per food unit	Number in group	Families receiving most of medical care	Proportion families receiving most of medical care form of all families in group
	Number	Number	Per cent
Total*.	100	43	43.0
<i>Food expenditure under \$75</i>			
Rice consumed:			
Under 35 pounds	13	5	38.5
35 pounds and over	22	12	54.5
<i>Food expenditure \$75 and over</i>			
Rice consumed:			
Under 35 pounds	17	5	29.4
35 pounds and over	48	21	47.3

\*One family consumed no rice.

In spite of the prevalence of decayed teeth only 32 persons in 21 families had dental work done during the year at costs ranging from \$1 to \$53. Of the 27 persons who were listed, 12 were wives, 6 were husbands, one was a son employed full time, one a pre-school child, and 7 were children attending grammar school. Their dental work was done by the school dentist at charges ranging from \$1 to \$14. The dental expenditures of the 12 wives averaged \$14, whereas that of the

six husbands averaged only \$3. Expenditures for dental care are given in Table 29.

TABLE 29. EXPENDITURE FOR DENTAL WORK, GLASSES, MEDICINES AND DOCTOR'S FEES

Health items	Number of families	Percentage of all families	Average expenditure for families reporting	Range in expenditures	
				Minimum amount	Maximum amount
All families	101	100.0	\$4.95	\$ .33	\$83.75
No expenditures reported	38	37.6	—	—	—
Expenditures reported	63	62.4	7.93	.35	83.75
Dental work	21	20.8	11.60	1.00	55.00
Oculist's fee and glasses	1	1.0	.50	—	—
Medicine and doctor's fee	55	54.5	4.65	.35	63.00

*Comparison with medical service in the rural Philippines.* The medical service received by Fillipino families on plantations in Hawaii is considerably greater than they receive in their homeland. Lava writes, "Medical attendance, medicines, hospitalization, dental expenses, are never incurred by the barrio people. Sickness is attended by 'quacks,' and hospitalization is considered as outside their experience."<sup>8</sup> Runes describes the medical service of persons living on sugar haciendas in the Philippines as follows:

There are ten plantation owners (out of 34) who are extending free medical consultation and attendance to their laborers. There is one that actually has a free dispensary for the use of the laborers and their families.

Hospitalization is unknown in the plantations and it can hardly be believed that any planter has been thinking of so progressive a step as establishing a hospital for his workers. Usually, a physician visits a plantation once a week and the laborers in need of medical services

<sup>8</sup> Lava, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

avail themselves of his presence. The present investigation disclosed that the laborers do not usually take advantage of the doctor or physician, first, because the laborers, who usually are ignorant and backward, do not believe in physicians and medicines and would rather resort to the "quacks" who charge them insignificant fees. Secondly, they cannot afford to pay for the medicines which are usually bought from the town many kilometers away.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Runes, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26.

## CHAPTER XI

### TRANSPORTATION, RECREATION, FIESTAS, EDUCATION, AND RELIGION

*Transportation.* One of the most marked effects of an increase in the income of the Filipino families is greater expenditure on transportation. The lowest income group averaged for all transportation \$3.79 per family; the second group, \$26.70; and the highest group, \$74.02. The average for the 101 families was \$30.48, with half the families spending less than \$15. Likewise, the proportion of the expenditures for transportation increased with each higher expenditure group: 0.8 per cent, 3.4 per cent, and 7.9 per cent, respectively.

Sixty-five families reported transportation expenditure—15 families for their own automobile, 5 for school fares, and 48 families for bus, train, or automobile trips, mainly to Waipahu, five miles distant, or to Honolulu, twenty miles distant.<sup>1</sup> The range in transportation expenditures is given in Table 30.

Many of those reporting transportation costs drove to Honolulu or nearby villages in cars owned by other Filipino families or by single men. A customary rate of \$1 round trip to Honolulu is charged. Others had taken the bus or train round trip to Honolulu, which costs 85 and 70 cents, respectively, and a few had rented cars for special trips and driven them themselves. During the period of investigation attention was called to one family that rented a car for \$6, and the entire family took a trip for a day. Some persons believed it impracticable to use the train or bus because of their

<sup>1</sup> Three families reported more than one kind of transportation expenditure.



inability to speak English, and rented a privately owned car when they wished to go to Honolulu. The following case is extreme but illustrates the attitude of not a few families. A wife and son reported spending \$150 on automobile fares during a two-month period when they made one or two trips a day to Honolulu to visit the husband who was ill in a Honolulu hospital. The reason they gave for not using the bus or train, a cheaper form of transportation, was inability to

TABLE 30. EXPENDITURE FOR TRANSPORTATION

Transportation expenditure	Number of families reporting expenditure for :			
	Total transportation costs	Automobile: Total amount paid during year	Train, bus or street car costs	
			School purposes	All other purposes
			Number families	Number families
Total	101	101	101	101
No expenditures reported	30	86	95	48
Free transportation	6	—	1	5
Expenditures reported	65	15	5	48
Under \$5.00	20	—	2	20
\$ 5- 9.99	5	1	—	4
10- 14.99	7	—	—	7
15- 19.99	3	—	—	3
20- 24.99	5	—	—	5
25- 49.99	8	2	1	7
50- 74.99	5	2	1	—
75- 99.99	1	1	1	—
100- 124.99	2	1	—	1
125- 149.99	2	2	—	—
150- 174.99	1	—	—	1
175- 199.99	2	2	—	—
200- 249.99	—	1	—	—
250- 299.99	3	3	—	—
300- 349.99	1	—	—	—
Average expenditures for families reporting transportation				
Mean	\$47.36	\$138.30	\$40.15	\$16.73
Median	15.00	106.37	45.00	9.00

speak English and their unfamiliarity with the route from the terminal station to the hospital.

Four families paid for their children's transportation to school in Honolulu, and one family spent a small amount for a school trip.

Six families were given free transportation. A married daughter living in Honolulu loaned her car to her brother who was living with her during the week and attending high school, so that he might be with his family on the plantation weekends. In five other families automobile rides were given members of the families by relatives or friends. These were usually to Honolulu or Waipahu, the population centers nearest the plantation.

Thirty families reported no expenditures for transportation of any kind during the year, and no free rides. These 30 families apparently spent the entire year in the plantation camps. It was not uncommon for a wife to explain that neither she nor her husband had been to Honolulu since their arrival.

Of the 15 families reporting expenditures on automobiles during the year, one was in the lowest expenditure group, six were in the middle group, and eight in the highest group. The amount spent on gas, oil, and repairs ranged from \$5.45 to \$193.40, and averaged \$81.77. The license costs for most of the families ran about \$22, although one family paid \$48 for a license<sup>2</sup> for its car. The automobile expenditures are given in Table 31.

Five families operated automobiles only a part of the year. Three families discontinued their use during the year because of repair and service bills which they could not meet.<sup>3</sup> Four families purchased automobiles during the year, two by trade-ins and two buying cars for the first time. Of the latter, one

<sup>2</sup> The motor vehicle tax in the Territory in 1934 was at the rate of one cent per pound on the weight of the car.

<sup>3</sup> The cars of these 3 families were operated for 4½, 6½, and 7 months of the year.

paid \$80 for a second-hand car, and a few months later, \$146 on repairs; and the other family paid \$55.50 for a second-hand hand car with their repair bills for the remainder of the year, \$16.70.<sup>4</sup> One family owned its car jointly with another family not in this survey.

TABLE 31. AUTOMOBILE EXPENDITURES

Items	Number of families	Percentage of all families	Average expenditure for families reporting	Range in Expenditures	
				Minimum amount	Maximum amount
All families	101	100.0	\$ 20.54	\$ 5.45	\$296.02
No expenditures reported	86	85.1	—	—	—
Expenditures reported*	15	14.9	138.33	5.45	296.02
Maintenance	15	14.9	81.77	5.45	193.40
License	12†	11.9	22.33	11.75	48.00
Payments on purchase during year	5	5.0	116.10	55.50	240.00
<i>Original purchase price:</i>					
Not reported	3	—	—	—	—
Reported	12	11.9	271.71	55.50	710.00
<i>Amount owed at end of year:</i>					
Balance due on purchase price	2	2.0	185.00	180.00	190.00
Amount owed for maintenance	4	4.0	38.55	12.00	80.00

\* Five cars were operated only a part of the year. One-half the expense of one car was paid by one family. The other half was paid by a family not included in the survey.

† There was no expenditures for licenses by two families who discontinued using their cars at the end of 1933, and the license was included in the cost of the car for one family.

Most of the cars were in the cheapest price brackets and were bought second hand. The reported purchase prices of 12 cars ranged from \$55 to \$710, 5 families spending under

<sup>4</sup> These 2 cars were operated for 4 and 4½ months.

\$100, 1 family \$170, 3 families between \$300 and \$400, and 3 families over \$400.<sup>5</sup>

Money was earned in three families by driving persons, usually single men, to and from Honolulu for a price of \$1 round trip. The amounts taken in for the year were reported as \$36, \$50, and \$90. All these families stated it was practically impossible to collect the entire amount that was owed them.

A few of the families preferred an automobile to household furniture. Four of the 15 families do not have beds, and six have no chairs. However, three of the car-owning families do have electric washing machines.

It is not surprising that some families have bought an automobile before securing beds and chairs and other "American" furniture, for the automobile does not merely provide transportation. It furnishes, too, the families' chief means of recreation. It enables a family to leave the plantation on Sundays and holidays and to go to the beach four miles away<sup>6</sup> where the father and mother may fish while the children play in the water and hunt the many brightly colored shells. It also enables them to visit other plantation villages where near relatives or close friends may live. Moreover, it makes it possible for the housewife to shop in Honolulu where she has a wider choice of commodities, and in some instances, may buy them at lower prices than on the plantation.

The following case illustrates the importance attached to a car by one of the families in this study. In 1929 this family had saved \$1,000, and used \$600 of it to buy a large second-hand car. The husband was on long-term contract work, and the monthly earnings of about \$24 did not cover the cost of operating the car. And so the cost of gas and repairs, often reaching \$30 a month, was taken from the savings. The car

<sup>5</sup> The cheaper priced cars cost approximately \$200 more in Hawaii than on the mainland.

<sup>6</sup> Other beaches are ten to forty miles away.

was operated until the savings were used up, and then sold in April, 1934, for \$50. During this time all other expenditures were at a bare minimum. Their food for the year cost only \$59 per adult male—an amount insufficient to provide an adequate diet; clothing, \$19 per adult male; and recreation but \$13 for the entire year. The automobile was their existence.

A number of families were able to buy their cars outright although most found it necessary to buy on the installment plan. In a few cases the purchase of the car necessitated using all savings. The original cost of their cars, together with the cost of operation, plunged 10 families into debt.<sup>7</sup> The cars in most of these families could be operated without incurring further debts only if all other expenditures were curtailed, and if there were no unusual event in the family, such as a death or a baptismal celebration.<sup>8</sup>

Bicycles were owned by 31 families. In 10 homes working sons rode to and from work on their bicycles, and in 21 families the head of the household rode the bicycle, usually in connection with his work. Two families purchased bicycles during the year, one costing \$40 and the other \$55.

*Recreation.* For many families celebrations of various kinds furnish the only organized or expensive form of recreation. Somewhat more than half the families reported no expenditures for motion pictures during the year.<sup>9</sup> (See Table 32.) A Filipino film was shown once a week at the theater in

<sup>7</sup> See Appendix C, Table 6, p. 240, for analysis of the financial situation of the 15 families who operated a car during the year.

<sup>8</sup> Two of the 3 families that discontinued operating their cars during the year ended with deficits; the other had a surplus. Of the 12 families operating a car at the end of the year, 2 had a surplus for the year, expenditures and income balanced in 3, and in 7 families there was a net deficit ranging from \$65 to \$472. Seven of the 12 families had some savings, 5 had debts to pay and no savings, 1 family had neither debts nor savings, and 1 family gave no report on its financial status.

<sup>9</sup> In the 4 weeks' period families were visited, 75 persons from 27 families attended one or more movies. Of the 75 persons, 21 were wives, 13 were husbands, and 41 were sons and daughters over 7 years of age.

Filipino Village, and although the dialogue was usually in Tagalog and could not be fully understood by most of the Visayan or Ilocano families, the adults, particularly, preferred it to the American films even though the Filipino movie cost

TABLE 32. RECREATION EXPENDITURES

Recreation items	Number of families reporting	Percentage of all families	Average expenditure for families reporting	Range in expenditures	
				Minimum amount	Maximum amount
All families	101	100.0	\$40.45	\$ 1.00	\$185.40
No expenditures reported	1	1.0	—	—	—
Expenditures reported	100	99.0	40.86	1.00	185.40
Tobacco	90	89.1	16.61	2.40	75.60
Gum, soft drinks and alcoholic drinks	22	21.8	4.01	.65	27.90
Newspapers	21	20.8	7.48	.60	21.00
Magazines	1	1.0	2.40	—	—
Filipino Club dues	59	58.4	1.73	.05	5.25
Motion picture theater	48	47.5	14.26	.50	111.76
Billiards at Filipino Club	20	19.8	10.64	.07	35.57
Dances and other amusements	9	8.9	6.57	1.50	24.00
Pleasure trips	2	2.0	2.25	2.00	2.50
Children's play equipment	14	13.9	2.87	.05	25.00
Victrolas	13	12.9	33.38	15.00	65.00
Victrola records	1	1.0	12.50	—	—
Radios	15	14.9	30.29	3.00	75.00
Other musical instruments	8	7.9	42.36	5.00	125.00
Other musical instruments include the following:					
Banjoes	2	2.0	18.45	1.90	35.00
Bass viola	2	2.0	65.00	60.00	70.00
Clarinet	1	1.0	8.00	8.00	8.00
Guitars	2	2.0	16.00	7.00	25.00
Piano	1	1.0	57.00	57.00	57.00
Saxophones	1	1.0	65.00	65.00	65.00
Ukuleles	2	2.0	5.00	5.00	5.00

35 cents and the American movie but 25 cents. The American films were not without their influence, however; the popular actresses were known and admired and their pictures pasted on living room walls. Several mothers commented with pride on Shirley Temple dresses their daughters owned.

The commercialized forms of recreation in Honolulu were seldom patronized by members of these plantation families. Throughout the year the public dance halls were visited by working sons in only three families, and boxing matches were attended occasionally by husbands or sons in only three families.

The Filipinos, particularly the single men, enjoy baseball, and on Sundays and holidays the plantation baseball diamonds were crowded with players and spectators. The local teams played one another and also teams from neighboring plantations and from Honolulu.

The Filipinos find great pleasure in music, and take pride in their ability to play an instrument. At the time of the survey there were one piano, three harps, two of which were hand carved, 13 guitars, one clarinet, two bass violas, and two banjos in the 101 homes. At least ten different Filipino orchestras flourished on the plantation. These were called upon to play at Filipino celebrations, to provide music for plantation affairs, and to play over the radio on the "Filipino Music Hour." A number of Filipino men in the families studied were members of orchestras. So great was the desire to play in an orchestra that one husband purchased, on the installment plan, a bass viola costing \$270, even though his obligations were already too heavy to be met out of the family income. Playing in an orchestra may provide opportunities for supplementing income, although no income from this source was reported for the year covered in the survey.

Tobacco was purchased in all but 11 families. About half the women appeared to be smokers, and about five-sixths of the men. Tobacco was usually purchased in long rolled strands

and made up into small cigars which were smoked by both sexes; pipes were used in some families and the tobacco purchased in tins. Cigarettes were purchased in only four families on behalf of working sons who smoked the advertised brands.

Only six families reported the purchase of alcoholic drinks although in 13 families the husbands were known to partake. Empty wine bottles were found in a number of homes at the time of the food inventory and were explained by the housewife as having been gifts for a fiesta. Boxes of hops used in making an alcoholic drink were found in 10 homes although in no instance was the drink itself observed.

In 59 families the husband or a grown son was a member of the Filipino Club, an organization sponsored by the plantation. There are two club houses—one in Filipino Village and one in Banana Camp—each with a lounging room, billiard room, and barber shop. The Filipinos use the club house or its adjoining grounds for games and special celebrations, but in general the club rooms were little used outside of the barber shop and billiard parlor. The latter was open from 5 o'clock in the afternoon until 10 at night. Each game costs 10 cents. Soft drinks were sold, and like the billiards, charged at the plantation office and deducted from the men's pay. The man in charge of the club house, a Filipino, was an employee of the plantation, and had a group of officers elected by the members to work with him.

Membership in the club organization was voluntary, the members paying 10 or 15 cents a month, depending upon the club house patronized, these amounts also being deducted from pay. This money, together with the profit from the billiards and soft drinks, was put into a fund under the charge of an American personnel director for use in club celebrations. When there was a club celebration, the officers of the organization had first to petition the personnel director for a grant of money to cover the expenses. This control over the finances



of the club was resented and regarded by many Filipinos as a reflection upon their capacity to manage their own organization.

The personnel director also kept in close touch with other Filipino organizations on the plantation. These tended to come and go, for there is a highly competitive leadership among Filipinos, and the rank and file are particularly susceptible to any propagandist with a glib tongue—too frequently in the past to leaders whose main object has been to take financial advantage of their compatriots.<sup>10</sup> The supervision of Filipino activities by the management also enables it to circumvent activities regarded as subversive.

Thirteen families subscribed to and paid for a daily Honolulu paper printed in English, and one family paid for it for one month. Three Filipino newspapers were published weekly in Honolulu, all news items printed in English, Ilocano, and Visayan, and six Visayan families bought one of these regularly or occasionally.<sup>11</sup> The newspapers were probably read by 10 working sons, 10 husbands, and 6 wives. One family subscribed to a magazine.

The absence of toys for the children was marked. Only occasionally a doll or toy automobile was seen, and in no home was a child's picture book found. Only 14 families reported expenditures for toys during the year, in most cases expenditures of 5 or 10 cents spent at Christmas time for a ball or small toy for each child in the family. Two families had provided their children with tricycles; one was purchased during the year for \$24. If the cost of the tricycle was correctly reported, it obviously represented a distorted set of values or a weak resistance to high-pressure salesmanship, for a tho-

<sup>10</sup> See quotation from Ligtot, "Labor Conditions of Filipinos in Hawaii," in an official Report to the Governor General, 1924. Given by Roman R. Cariaga, *Filipinos of Hawaii*, Honolulu, 1937, p. 65.

<sup>11</sup> No newspapers were received by 20 families which might have read an English or Filipino newspaper, and by 32 families which might have read a Filipino newspaper.

roughly serviceable tricycle could be bought in Honolulu for a third of this amount.<sup>12</sup>

Expenditures for the items listed under recreation ranged from \$1 to \$185, and averaged \$41. The expenditure per family increased with each higher expenditure group for the following items: tobacco, gum, soft and alcoholic drinks, newspapers, Filipino Club dues, motion picture theaters, and billiards at the Filipino Club. The families reporting expenditures for other items were too few to make comparisons feasible.

*Funerals, Celebrations, and Weddings.* Fifty-nine families held a celebration of some kind during the year, and 65 altogether contributed toward a fiesta. This is shown in Table 33. Whether a funeral, birthday or baptismal party, the celebration takes the form of a feast, usually attended by large numbers. A few families held the feast throughout the entire day, and whole families ate all their meals at the host's house.

The ceremonials center largely around births and deaths. The death of a person requires at least two large feasts, followed a year later by another. The birth of a child is the signal for a celebration, and a feast is given, attended by all the relatives and friends, at which time the child is baptised. If a member of a family is ill the parents will often bargain with the Deity or the saints for his recovery, promising a feast in their honor upon the person's return to health.

These celebrations have their origins deep in the life of the peasants in the Philippines. They are a central part of the old Indo-Malayan cultures, and have also been reshaped and emphasized in Roman Catholic ceremonial. Field writes of the fiestas:

<sup>12</sup> This family had no chairs in its home and only one bed for 7 persons. Its food expenditure was \$91 per adult male for the year,—barely an adequate amount. The family had saved money, however, for \$500 had been sent to the Philippine Islands for investment in land.

In olden times and today in the poorer communities, virtually the only amusement is an occasional fiesta held on the anniversary of the patron saint of the town or in celebration of a wedding or the completion of the harvest. In these public fiestas everyone takes part preparing the food or helping to serve it, and it is far more than a feast—it is an occasion for high spirits, forgetting cares, and gaiety. It is a form of celebration dear to the hearts of Filipinos.<sup>13</sup>

TABLE 33. FUNERALS AND CELEBRATIONS

Items	Number of families	Total number of celebrations	Average expenditure for families reporting	Range in expenditures	
				Minimum amount	Maximum amount
All families	101	—	\$23.19	\$ 1.00	\$139.00
No expenditures reported	35	—	—	—	—
Expenditures reported	65	73	36.04	1.00	139.00
Funerals	4	8	67.25	55.00	100.00
Death anniversaries	10	11	34.32	5.00	80.00
Baptismals	34	34	36.05	11.08	100.00
Birthday parties	10	10	14.92	2.65	24.00
Religious celebrations	7	7	20.14	10.00	30.00
Weddings	2	2	20.00	15.00	25.00
Santa Catalina celebration	19	1	4.79	1.00	20.90

*Gifts Received*

Items	Number of families	Percentage of all families reporting each celebration	Average amount received by families reporting	Range in amounts received	
				Minimum amount	Maximum amount
All families	101	—	—	—	—
No gifts reported	80	—	—	—	—
Gifts reported	21	35.6	35.91	\$ 2.00	\$191.00
Funerals	3	75.0	35.33	20.00	66.00
Death anniversaries	2	20.0	17.50	15.00	20.00
Baptismals	13	38.2	45.09	2.00	191.00
Birthday parties	1	10.0	3.70	—	—
Religious celebrations	1	14.3	2.50	—	—
Weddings	1	50.0	20.75	—	—

<sup>13</sup> Field and Field in Bruno Lasker, *op. cit.*, p. 438.

Items	Number of families	<i>Guests</i>		
		Average number of guests for families reporting guests	Range in number of guests	
			Minimum number	Maximum number
All families	101	—	—	—
No guests reported	46	—	—	—
Guests reported	55	97.9	15	400
Funerals	4	232.5	30	350
Death anniversaries	10	90.0	15	200
Baptismals	29	103.6	20	400
Birthday parties	10	29.5	15	60
Religious celebrations	5	33.0	15	50
Weddings	2	45.0	40	50

If families contributing to Santa Catalina celebration are excluded, number of families reporting expenditures is 59, average expenditure is \$38.09 and range is \$2.65 to \$139.00.

The "mutual reciprocity," described by Hugo H. Miller,<sup>14</sup> is carried over in Hawaii. Stoves, dishes, silverware are freely loaned when a *fiesta* is given, and guests attending a feast bring gifts of money or food which help to defray the large expenses.

For many families these celebrations furnish the only means of recreation. Moreover, they are essential to family prestige in the community. Because of this, celebrations are given by families who can little afford them, often at the expense of going without comforts, or even without some minimum essentials for health. Frequently they involve families in further debt. Although the amount spent on the celebrations seems in a few cases disproportionately large, it must be noted that a family gives such a celebration only occasionally. If the average expenditure of celebrations for all families is added to the average expenditure for recreation for all families, it amounts to only \$63.64 per family per year (Table 11, p. 82).

There were deaths in four families during the year covered in the survey. At the time of the funeral a meal was served

<sup>14</sup> See pages 24-6.

to those attending. It usually consisted of rice, roast pig, chicken, and vegetables. For nine days following the funerals, prayers were held nightly, attended by the more intimate friends and relatives, and evening refreshments, usually of bread, meat, rice, and vegetables, were served. At the end of the nine-day prayers came another large feast. These meetings are to assure the departed member of the heavenly assistance necessary for his journey. On the fortieth day another feast is sometimes given in honor of the dead, preceded by another nine evenings of prayer. At the end of the year a feast terminates the mourning period. An anniversary celebration may be given once a year thereafter for an indefinite period, usually three years.

To the Filipinos death and burial are part of a family institution as well as a religious ritual. The deceased is still accorded a vital role in the family functions, especially if he were an elder member. His wishes are executed to the letter, and he is considered a member "in absentia." The moral ties between the departed and the survivors are sometimes stronger than the relations between the living. This is one of the traits wherein the Filipinos resemble their Oriental neighbors. They do not worship in formal terms their ancestors, but they fear the anger of dead relatives, who, they believe, have the power to come back and inflict punishment. This idea has its origin in the Malayan beliefs of the pre-Spanish Filipinos.<sup>15</sup>

Ceremonial rites after death are strictly observed by the Filipinos of Hawaii. Indeed this is one of the most marked of the customs transplanted to Hawaii. Survivors go into debt to assist the dead member to attain his rightful place in heaven.

Some Filipinos believe that the "soul" of the dead returns on the third day. Provisions, therefore, are prepared for him.

<sup>15</sup> See Zaide, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-40.

The choice part of a chicken or pig, or lean meat is placed on a stick and left either on the altar of the sacred room in which the person died, or above on the roof of the house. On the night of the eighth day—before the big feast (terminating the nine-day prayers)—a similar serving is left for the spirit. The Ilocanos prepare special dishes for the returning soul on the night of the eighth day, which they place on a table in the room; no one is allowed to touch these dishes until the following day when the final feast is served to the mourners.<sup>16</sup>

The chief item of expense for the funerals is the cost of the food. An undecorated box for a coffin and the cemetery lots are provided by the plantation. In all cases cloth, nails, and paper were purchased to line the coffin, costing from \$3 to \$5. It is customary for pictures to be taken of the corpse and funeral party and prints given to relatives and friends. These pictures cost one family \$19. A priest officiated at the funerals of three families and made no charge, and a minister served at the two funerals of one family and received \$3 and \$5 for each funeral. The total amounts spent in connection with the deaths were \$55, \$94, and two at \$100 each. Gifts of money reduced the total costs to \$28, \$35, \$80, and \$100.

All the funerals required an outlay which could not be met out of the year's earnings. Only one of the four families had savings, but it was necessary for that family, as well as for the other three, to go in debt. Because of the payment of back debts at the time of the receipt of a contract pay, one family ended the year with a surplus balance. There were deficits in the other three families for the year, ranging from \$81 to \$138.

Ten families reported giving death anniversary celebrations. These expenditures are considerably less than for funerals and are less of a financial burden, for only three of these families reported deficits for the year.

<sup>16</sup> This discussion of death ceremonials is adapted from Cariaga, *op. cit.*

A baptismal feast is usually given for each new baby at about the sixth week, although it may be given anywhere from three days to a year after birth. Thirty-four families reported a baptismal celebration during the year.<sup>17</sup> Thirteen of these reported receipt of gifts, either money or clothing, ranging in value or amount from \$2 to \$191. The offering was supposed to be for the child, but in every case the money was used to defray the expenses of the celebration. It is considered an honor, although it entails a financial obligation, to be asked to be a godfather or godmother of a child. At the end of the feast celebrating a baptismal, the godparents gather around a table and each places a sealed envelope on it, containing money ranging from \$1 to \$10. During the infancy of the child the sponsors, or *compadres* and *comares*, are supposed to take an interest in the child's general welfare.

Cariaga states that the criticism has been made by some Filipinos that this system of multiple sponsorship, peculiar to Hawaii, "commercializes the christening and the sacredness of the occasion is lost." Nevertheless there is a definite reason for this system. It not only helps to defray the expense of the celebration, but provides the only family connection many of the single Filipinos on the plantation have.<sup>18</sup>

Fourteen of the 34 families giving such a fiesta reported deficits for the year, averaging \$117, but 15 families ended the year with a surplus, averaging \$112. There were 5 that balanced. On the other hand 19 of the 34 families had no chairs; 13 had no beds; 18 families had less than four bed covers. Only 2 of these families had cribs for their babies. Fifteen families spent less than \$75 per food expenditure unit

<sup>17</sup> The amounts spent on the baptismal celebrations were:

Under \$20.00	—	7 families
\$20 — 30.99	—	15 families
40 — 59.99	—	7 families
60 and over	—	5 families

Of the 5 families spending \$60 or over, 2 families spent \$60, 1 family, \$75, 1 family, \$76, and 1 family, \$100.

<sup>18</sup> Cariaga, *op. cit.*

on food for the year, an inadequate amount if a balanced diet is to be secured.

Birthday parties were given by 10 families either for small children or for working sons. As fewer guests were invited, these parties cost less than other celebrations. At some parties a meal was served, and at others the refreshments consisted of cakes made from mochiko. Presents are not customarily given on birthdays, and only one family reported a gift.

Observance of saints' days are regularly carried on, especially by the Visayan group. Elaborate celebrations with feasting, music, religious ceremonies, and sports are given on Santa Catalina's birthday, November 24th. At this time, the image of Santa Catalina, which is kept throughout the year in the Catholic Church, is mounted on a large float and elaborately decorated with ferns and flowers. At dusk, the participants in the celebration—men, women, and children, all dressed in their best clothes, 75 or 100 altogether—form in line behind the float, and with lighted candles march slowly to the Catholic Church where a picture is taken of the float and group, together with the Catholic priest and choir boys. Then headed by the priest and the float, the group slowly parades through the village and back to the church for a brief mass. After this, the group marches after the float to the place of the feast and entertainment.

A Santa Catalina Society has been organized to prepare for this commemoration. Dues in the society are \$5 a year, although a family unable to pay does not cease to be a member. During the year 19 families paid into the society amounts ranging from \$1 to \$20.

Similar to the celebration in honor of Santa Catalina, is a celebration given by two families on the plantation in honor of Santa Filomena, the second patron saint of their home town in Cebu. On August 10th, the birthday of Santa Filomena, families from a neighboring plantation village with those from Honolulu who honor this Saint likewise parade



through the streets of the plantation village with the figure of the Saint to the Church. The service is followed by a feast, the expenses, \$70 or more, being borne by the two plantation families.

In the Philippines the saints' days fiestas are actuated in part by a desire for greater economic yields—a plea for good crops in the coming year or an expression of thanks for past prosperity. In Hawaii these fiestas have lost this economic significance and derive their value largely from the social activity they engender.

Five other families gave a religious feast during the year in order to keep their promise made to the Deity for allowing a member of the family to recover from an illness. The amount spent ranged from \$10 to \$30. One family received a gift of \$2.50.

Marriage among the Filipinos in the rural districts of the homeland continues to be largely arranged, and accompanied by gifts from the bridegroom or his people to the family of the bride. This custom has broken down in Hawaii, and the young girls usually select their husbands themselves. In fact most of the young mothers in this study were apparently pregnant at the time of their marriage. The custom of gifts from the bridegroom to the bride's family is likewise disappearing in Hawaii.

A 16-year old daughter in one family included in this study was permitted to marry the man of her choice only after he had agreed to pay the family \$150 when he received his "big contract pay." However, when the pay was finally received, there was already a baby in the family and another expected, and debts which took all but \$155 of the money. The mother demanded her payment of \$150, but the young couple offered only \$25, which was indignantly refused. Instead of paying the mother, they spent \$15 for a baptismal party, \$5 for a comb for the wife, \$19 for earrings, \$25 for a phonograph, and put \$95 in the savings account. The \$95 was later sent to the Philippines for the support of the husband's parents.

There were two weddings during the year. A detailed record of expenditure was secured from only one family. In this case a 15-year old granddaughter married a 27-year old man, the couple living with the grandparents after their marriage. The bridegroom bought the wedding dress and shoes for the bride as is the custom in the Philippines, the dress and shoes costing \$9.25. About 50 guests attended the wedding feast, which consisted of a roast pig (\$18), three bags of rice (two bags given to the family), and vegetables, fruit, and alcoholic drinks (all given to the family). The wedding cost the groom's parents about \$25.

*Education.* Education gives higher prestige in the Philippine Islands than it does in the United States, according to Lasker, for it offers an opportunity for the son or daughter to secure a government position with its high status in the scale of social distinction. Because of the high esteem in which the educated person is held, the prestige of the entire family is raised when a son or daughter finishes high school, or especially a college course of study.<sup>19</sup> This attitude toward education has been carried over into Hawaii, and the superior educational opportunities in Hawaii compared to those in the Philippines furnished a strong motive for some families to remain in Hawaii, as was noted earlier. Children were sent to school until they finished the eighth grade, even though they may have reached sixteen or seventeen years of age, and a few families were consuming their entire savings in providing a high school or commercial education for their sons. All the Filipino children who had not finished the grammar grades were attending school. This would not be true of a survey of certain other racial groups in Hawaii.

The public school on the plantation is an attractive building in large, beautifully landscaped grounds, located near the central office building, about three city blocks from Filipino

<sup>19</sup> Lasker, *op. cit.*, pp. 258-261.

Village, and somewhat further from the other two villages where Filipino families live. There is no public education provided beyond the eighth grade, and if children continue their schooling, they must either live in Honolulu or commute. Graduation from the grammar school is a most important event in the lives of these children. Exercises are held in the evening so that parents may attend, and for several days before the exercises the candidates may be seen dressed in their graduation clothes—the boys in navy blue suits and the girls in long white dresses.

A kindergarten is operated during the morning by the plantation for children four and five years of age. A bus collects and delivers the children, and a lunch is served them by the Health Center, all for \$1 a month. The kindergarten was attended largely by Japanese children. Only 13 of the 55 Filipino families with children of kindergarten age sent their children to the kindergarten. The fact that most of the 13 families are in the highest expenditure group indicates that the expense might have been one factor influencing the use of the kindergarten by the Filipinos.

Children in the plantation public grammar school buy their own pencils, papers, rulers, erasers, etc., and pay rental charges for books according to the following schedule of the Territorial public school system:

Grades	Charge for school year
1 and 2	\$ .75
3 and 4	1.50
5 and 6	2.50
7 and 8	3.00

A school lunch which follows the Health Center recommendations is served at noon at a small charge. Children definitely under par physically, and unable to pay for the extra food, are provided a mid-morning lunch free. Most of the families sent the children to school with lunches from home, only 24 reporting expenditures at the school cafeteria.

Children in 11 families were provided the free mid-morning lunch.

Three sons attended high school in Honolulu during the preceding school year, and the daughter in one of the families attended the eighth grade in Honolulu. A son in one family attended commercial school in Honolulu and a son in another started high school in September, 1934, a week before the year for this study ended. The entire amounts spent by these five families in connection with education of children in schools in Honolulu are as follows:

Families	Tuition	Books & Supplies	Transportation	Lunches	Total
No. 41	\$10	?	?	?	?*
No. 79	16	\$ 3.55	\$ 2	Free	\$21.55
No. 55	10	15.25	60	\$55	140.25
No. 15	20	21.00	90	90	221.00
No. 76	\$150		45	†	195.00

\* A 14-year old son in family No. 41 started high school in Honolulu one week before the year for this study ended. Expenditures other than tuition were not secured for that week.

† Included in the \$150.

The financial conditions of these five families is shown below:

Families	Husband's earnings	Other income	Amount paid on furniture during year	Installment balances due on furniture	Savings withdrawn during year	Total savings at end of the year	Debts accumulated during year
No. 41	\$680	\$25	\$ 51	—	—	\$350	—
No. 79	218	77	—	—	\$ 67	—	\$ 5.50
No. 55	474	885	119	\$ 39	28	—	7.00
No. 15	837	600	76	163	—	30	150.39
No. 76	862	—	95	—	150	—	—

Family No. 79 has three children, daughters aged 9 and 10 years, and a son aged 18 years. A married daughter contributed \$77 to the family's support in addition to helping the brother through school. Three years ago when the husband received a contract pay this family saved \$200 to apply to their son's high school education. The amount was used up in

three years, and the boy had one more year before he would finish.

Family No. 55 had seven children at home, ages 6, 8, 9, 14, 17, 20, and 24 years. The two older sons earned \$885 during the year. This family had a piano and living room furniture of the type found in American homes.

Family No. 15 had six children at home, aged 2, 5, 9, 11, 13, and 16 years. The 13-year old daughter and the 16-year old son attended school in Honolulu. They owned an automobile which cost them \$220 to operate during the school year. Although the family income was relatively high, their expenses were also high and they went into debt \$150 during the year.

Family No. 76 was composed of a granddaughter, five years, and a son, 21 years of age. The son attended a commercial school in Honolulu, the money having been saved for this purpose. The balance of their savings, \$150, had been withdrawn from the bank and spent during the year. The parents hoped to send the son another year so that when he finished his course he might be eligible for an office job at the plantation.

A son in one family was working his way through Washington State University after having paid his own expenses through high school by working in one of the hotels as bell boy. According to Table 34, school expenditures averaged \$6.65 for the 75 families reporting these items.

There were 15 families in which 21 sons were employed full time. Only three of these 21 sons had left school before finishing the eighth grade, and four of the boys had attended high school for one and two years. All these boys, on the other hand, were employed in unskilled labor, regardless of the amount of education they had gained.

The husbands and three sons in four families paid for music lessons, one son for lessons on a saxophone, and the others on the bass viola. Three dollars was spent by family No. 15

for cooking lessons for the 13-year old daughter. One woman spent \$24 for sewing lessons, and one man paid \$125 for mechanic's lessons. The latter had not had an opportunity to use his training.

TABLE 34. EXPENDITURE FOR EDUCATIONAL ITEMS

	Number of families reporting	Percentage of all families reporting	Average expenditure for families reporting	Range in expenditures	
				Minimum amount	Maximum amount
All families	101	100.0	\$7.83	\$.25	\$150.70
No expenditures reported	24	23.8	—	—	—
Expenditures reported*	77	76.2	10.27	.25	150.70
School books, supplies and school tuition*	75	74.3	6.65	.25	150.70
Miscellaneous school expenditure	1	1.0	13.00	—	—
Music lessons	4	4.0	31.38	17.50	60.00
Cooking lessons	1	1.0	3.00	—	—
Sewing lessons	1	1.0	25.00	—	—
Mechanic lessons	1	1.0	125.00	—	—

\*School lunches for two children attending high school in Honolulu are included.

There was a high rate of illiteracy among the husbands and wives covered in this study. Forty-six husbands and 68 wives were unable to read and write in either their Filipino dialect or in English. Of the remaining 55 husbands, who could read and write Filipino, 15 were also able to read and write English. Only 33 wives were able to read and write in their native dialect, and of these only 12 could also read and write in English.<sup>20</sup>

The proportion of men and women in the highest expenditure group who could read and write in at least their native language was considerably higher than in the two lower

<sup>20</sup> In 37 families both the husband and wife were illiterate. In 8 of these homes, however, there was a working son who was literate. In 29 families only the husband could read and write, in 9 families only the wife was able to do so, and in 26 families both husband and wife were literate.

groups.<sup>21</sup> The percentage of literacy among the Ilocanos was somewhat higher than among the Visayans. This may partly account for the larger proportion of Ilocano families in the highest expenditure group, as there appeared to be some relationship between literacy and plantation earnings.<sup>22</sup>

Schooling in the Philippine Islands was reported by only 32 husbands and 21 wives.

*Religion.* The Filipinos, as has been seen, have been predominantly Roman Catholics since the sixteenth century. With the American regime was also introduced the Protestant Church in its many denominations. Various indigenous religious sects have also risen from time to time, the two with a following among the families studied being the Aglipayan Church, schismatic from the Catholic faith, and the Filipino Federation of America—a religious, social, and political fraternity among the overseas Filipinos.<sup>23</sup>

Many of the old Malayan beliefs have been incorporated into the religious observances followed by the Filipinos today. Dr. Pardo de Tavers, a Filipino scholar, writes:

The *Novenas*, booklets dedicated to particular saints, linked the old and new faiths . . . (their prodigies) . . . compare with the enchantments, magics and sorceries . . . of the primitive religion. . . . All the fear of the mysterious was conserved, changing only the concepts about spirits.<sup>24</sup>

The pre-Spanish Filipinos were reported by early writers as believing in a supreme deity, "the creator of the universe and

<sup>21</sup> Fifty-one per cent of the husbands in the lowest expenditure group could neither read nor write; 50 per cent in the second group, and 31 per cent in highest group were illiterate. Seventy-eight per cent of the wives in the lowest expenditure group were illiterate, 71 per cent in the second group, and 46 per cent in the highest group were illiterate.

<sup>22</sup> Sixty-one per cent of the Ilocano husbands and 50 per cent of the Ilocano wives reported they were able to read and write in at least one language, whereas but 52.5 per cent of the Visayan husbands and 27 per cent of the Visayan wives so reported.

<sup>23</sup> Field states: "According to the Census of 1918, the latest reliable source of information, 90.5 per cent of the total population of the (Philippine) Islands were Christian. Roman Catholics come first, with 75.5 per cent; Aglipayans (Independent Catholics) 13.7 per cent; Protestants 1.3 per cent. In Lasker, *op. cit.*, p. 427.

<sup>24</sup> Quoted by Keesing, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

the lord of all men and villages;" in addition there were various minor deities, male and female. They also took into account numerous spirits called *anitos* or *diwatas*. The good anitos were said to be the spirits of their ancestors, "intercessors in the other world," while the bad ones were the spirits of their enemies. Such an ancestor cult was widespread in the Orient and Pacific. Sacrifices and prayers were offered to these anitos and to the minor deities to gain their good will or placate their wrath, and various charms or amulets were used. They believed, too, in sorcerers, or witches, who practiced black magic against their victims. Many of these beliefs remain to the present day. The fear of the anitos, the use of bamboo crosses to placate them, the use of charms, and amulets, the belief in the return of the souls of the dead at certain intervals, the belief in witches, and many of their fears have their origins in the old Malayan culture.<sup>25</sup>

Though the Filipinos in Hawaii are religious, they rarely go to church. The Catholic Filipinos have their children baptised in the church, and are usually married or buried under its auspices. They celebrate church festivals and saints' days, but except perhaps for a short time after a personal visit from the priest, they do not attend regular Sunday services. There is an attractive Catholic Church on the plantation, but the priest does not know the Filipino dialects and its work is largely with the Portuguese families. Although 79 families reported an affiliation with the Catholic Church, only 19 contributed to it during the year. Catholic families in the Philippine Islands are on the whole not accustomed to contributing regularly to the Church. Instead, a fee is charged for the services of the priest or church at the time of a celebration or funeral in the family. This practice in the homeland undoubtedly accounts for the small number of families reporting contributions in Hawaii. Five families attending the

<sup>25</sup> See Kroeber, *op. cit.*, variously through index; Zaide, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-40; Barrows, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-83; Hart, *op. cit.*, pp. 145-147.



Catholic Church in the Philippine Islands changed to the Protestant Church here, because, as they explained, they could understand the Protestant minister and could not understand the Catholic priest.

The main church in Filipino Village is a Protestant Congregational Church, established by the Hawaiian Board of Missions. A Filipino pastor, an Ilocano with a Visayan wife, was in charge of its work. Eighteen families in this study were affiliated with this Church, but few attended regularly, and only six reported contributions. The main activity appears to be among the children who flocked to the Sunday School. Those who lived in the farther camps were furnished transportation by the pastor, and ice cream parties were given monthly as a further incentive for Sunday School attendance. The pastor speaks in either English or Ilocano, and most of the families reporting affiliation with it were Ilocano.

A unit of the Salvation Army was established on the plantation, and a house and meeting place had been provided in Filipino Village by the plantation management. The activities were chiefly with the children, although the worker visited families in the homes and attempted to educate the wives on health. Three families reported contributing a small amount to the Salvation Army, although one family belonged to the Catholic Church and two to the Protestant Church.

Four families were members of the Filipino Federation of America. This organization was founded in Los Angeles, California, about 1925 by Hilario C. Moncado, and in the Islands in 1927. In 1934 the movement was receding and had almost died out. Its tenets consist of a mixture of religious dogma based upon the Bible, the so-called science of Numerology, and, for the adept, a ban on all but uncooked foods. An inner group of Moncado disciples wore their hair long, were reported to go without shoes, and dressed in the most simple fashion, in imitation of John the Baptist. They prophesied that the end of the world was near, and that wars

and a series of catastrophes were imminent. When these occurred, a huge ark would be built for the Federation members, and they would be saved. Series of numbers and letters were found written on the walls of the houses of the members of this organization. Members were urged to refrain from using meat or animal products, including milk and eggs, and all cooked foods, although by a curious twist of reasoning steamed oats were permitted. An initial fee of \$100 was charged each member, which automatically prevented many families from joining. Only one family, consisting of father and mother and five children ranging in age from 5 months to 14 years, was adhering to the diet restrictions. Their diet consisted of rolled oats eaten without cooking,<sup>26</sup> usually with honey poured over it, and various uncooked foods such as cabbage, tomatoes, lettuce, and peanuts. The small children were suffering from malnutrition and undernourishment, and their teeth had decayed down to the gums. In spite of pressure from the school the father refused to allow the home diet of the children to be supplemented by free lunches at school.

Two families reported membership in the Aglipayan Church in the Philippines. There was no similar organization in the Territory.

*Charity Contributions and Taxes.* Contributions to the annual United Welfare Fund campaign of the City and County of Honolulu, which raises the sum necessary to finance some twenty-four health, relief, child care and youth guidance agencies, were deducted from the wages of the plantation workers, the percentage of the salary depending upon the decision of the manager.<sup>27</sup> The amounts deducted from the wages of the 101 families ranged from \$1 to \$8.01, amounting to \$1.60 for most of the families. If more than one

<sup>26</sup> The oats have been steamed in the factory about 19 hours.

<sup>27</sup> One-half of 1 per cent of wages was the amount deducted in most industries.

person in a family was employed by the plantation, a corresponding amount was deducted for each worker. There were four persons employed in the family paying \$8.01.

A territorial unemployment tax of  $\frac{1}{2}$  of 1 per cent of the monthly salary was deducted from the wages by law. The amount of the tax ranged from \$1.11 to \$6.79, those families in which more than one person was employed by the plantation paying the higher amounts. A toll tax of \$5 was also deducted for each person 21 years of age and over who earned \$200 and over a year. This data is given in Table 35.

TABLE 35. COMMUNITY WELFARE EXPENDITURES

Items	Number of families	Percentage of all families	Average expenditure for families reporting	Range in expenditures	
				Minimum amount	Maximum amount
All families	101	100.0	\$10.71	\$7.19	\$38.18
Church	28	27.7	2.80	.20	12.00
United Welfare Fund contributions	101	100.0	2.21	1.00	8.01
Unemployment tax	101	100.0	2.52	1.11	6.79
Poll tax	101	100.0	5.20	5.00	15.00

The families in Hawaii are thus shown as finding most of their simple pleasures and recreations in automobile, train, and bus rides, and in carrying on the social and religious ritual of the homeland as best they can in the vital concerns of birth and death. Marriage on the other hand has been simplified so that it is primarily a matter of the personal choice of the couple. For the essential fiestas, so deeply a part of all Philippine cultures, families deprive themselves and go into debt. Schooling is treated as a privilege and made use of to the full. Church attendance on the other hand is perfunctory, in part because there is no Filipino branch of the Roman Catholic Church on the plantation. Finally, the families perforce make their contribution to the city and county of Honolulu and to the Territory of Hawaii.

## CHAPTER XII

### MISCELLANEOUS EXPENDITURES

*Gifts.* To a Filipino many of the transactions a Westerner would call gifts represent an economic responsibility to his kin folk—a responsibility as great as that of the head of an Occidental household to the immediate members of his family. In Hawaii, the Filipino's feeling toward his neighbors and friends who came from the same village or province in the homeland takes on many of the characteristics of his relationship to his kin group in the Philippines. Thus we find families with a deficit contributing to a baptismal celebration or the funeral of a friend.

The attitude of responsibility for the economic welfare of relatives in the homeland—not peculiar to the Filipino people—explains the willingness of husbands and wives to send all that is left from a contract pay, after debts have been settled, or all their savings, to the Philippines for the support of parents or other relatives. Like the Polynesians the Filipinos “keep the fires of kinship warm” on both the maternal and the paternal side so that whether the relatives needing assistance are those of the husband or of the wife, they are usually aided with willingness. One family in the lowest expenditure group withdrew its entire savings of \$86, sending \$56 to parents in the Philippine Islands and \$30 to a nephew of the wife who was attending normal school in the Philippines. When asked if the nephew would repay the \$30, the wife with some surprise said, “No. He is a relative.”

During the year 61 families reported making gifts of money, as shown in Table 36. Seventeen families sent money to relatives in the Philippines, the amounts ranging from \$2 to \$300, and averaging \$67.<sup>1</sup> Four families contributed to the support of relatives living in Hawaii.

TABLE 36. AMOUNT GIVEN AWAY DURING YEAR

Classification of Gifts	Number of families	Percentage of all families	Average expenditure for families reporting	Range in expenditures	
				Minimum amount	Maximum amount
All families	101	100.0	\$14.89	\$50	\$300.00
No gifts reported	40	39.6	—	—	—
Gifts reported	61	60.4	24.66	.50	300.00
Support of relatives in Philippine Islands	17	16.8	67.13	2.00	300.00
Support of relatives in Hawaii	4	4.0	31.00	10.00	40.00
To local families for					
Funerals	39	38.6	4.99	.50	16.15
Celebrations	10	9.9	4.25	.40	10.00

Thirty-nine families gave a small amount, usually 50 cents, to relatives or friends at the time of a death in the family, and 10 families reported gifts of money to families giving baptismal celebrations or some other fiesta. The amounts contributed ranged from 40 cents to \$16.15.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Four families sent between \$2 and \$24; 6 families, between \$24 and \$49; 3 families, between \$50 and \$74; and 4 families, the following amounts: \$86, \$140, \$205, and \$300. Four of the 16 families for which information was secured used money which was earned during the year, 7 families sent some of their contract pay received during the year, and 5 took some or all of their savings.

<sup>2</sup> The amounts contributed to funerals were as follows:

<i>Amount contributed</i>	<i>Number of families</i>
Under \$ 1.00	2
\$ 1.00 — 1.99	6
2.00 — 2.99	6
3.00 — 3.99	4
4.00 — 4.99	1
5.00 — 5.99	9
6.00 — 9.99	6
10.00 — 16.00	5

The gifts of money in some of the families would probably appear to a Westerner to be unduly burdensome.

It must be remembered, however, that these same families can expect aid from their relatives and friends when they particularly need it. Because of this practice of mutual help, the number of Filipinos in Hawaii receiving relief by the charity organizations was small in relation to their proportion of the total population.

*Insurance.* The savings of the Filipino families included in this study do not take the form of life insurance; in fact, at the time of the investigation the large insurance companies with offices in Honolulu refused to accept Filipinos as risks, partly because an insurance schedule had not yet been worked out for Filipinos, and partly because of the difficulty of collecting the premiums and of keeping track of the policy holders. The small insurance companies, including a Filipino company with headquarters in Manila, that did accept Filipinos in Hawaii, would issue them only twenty-year endowment policies maturing at sixty. A Filipino 35 years of age paid on such a policy \$51 to \$55 for each \$1000, whereas a Caucasian was charged \$3 to \$5 less.<sup>3</sup>

Strong family ties carrying a sense of economic responsibility for relatives and the tradition of friends and relatives contributing at the time of a funeral reduce to some extent the necessity for life insurance among these people. However, there was no death reported during the year when the gifts of money were sufficient to cover the cost of the funeral and the subsequent feasts.

A cooperative sickness insurance scheme had been developed by a group of Filipino families and single men living in Banana Camp. It served 53 members, 8 of them families covered in this study. The society was called "Saranay," an

<sup>3</sup> Since 1934 two insurance companies in Honolulu have issued life insurance policies to Filipinos.

Ilocano word, meaning "to help." There was an entrance fee of \$1, and monthly dues of 50 cents. If some member of a family belonging to the organization was ill, each member of the organization was required to contribute 25 cents, and \$5 was given to the family. At the time of disbanding the organization, all money left in the treasury was to be divided among the members.

Eight families carried endowment policies and one family belonged to a Filipino Association which was organized as a savings scheme by a Filipino living in Hilo, Hawaii, for families who intended to return to the Philippine Islands. The money put into the Society was to be returned only in case the family went back to the homeland; if a family dropped out, the entire sum contributed was forfeited. This family paid \$21.85 during the year. The eight families carrying insurance paid the following premiums for the year: \$1.58, \$3.40, \$7.31, \$15, \$18, \$52.80, \$52.80, \$222.91. In most cases the plantation office deducts the amount of the insurance premium from the monthly pay (Table 37).

TABLE 37. LIFE INSURANCE AND VOLUNTARY SICKNESS  
INSURANCE SOCIETIES

Items	Number of families	Percen- tage of all families	Average expenditure for families reporting	Range in expenditures	
				Mini- mum amount	Maxi- mum amount
All families	101	100.0	\$4.15	\$1.00	\$222.91
No insurance	87	86.1	—	—	—
Insurance	14	13.9	29.91	1.00	222.91
Saranay Society*	7	6.9	3.30	1.00	5.62
Insurance†	9	8.9	43.96	1.58	222.91

\* Voluntary health insurance organization among Filipino families in one village.

† Includes eight families carrying endowment insurance and one family making payments to a Filipino Association.

*Chickens and Pigs.* Animals are often permitted to roam freely around most country homes in the Philippines, at least in the daytime, thereby providing most important means of garbage disposal. On the plantation in Hawaii an attempt was made to fence in a portion of the yard for chickens, and pigs could be kept only in a pig sty provided by the plantation several blocks away from Banana Camp. Often chickens strayed from their coups or pens, however, and were seen wandering through the houses on the plantations, sometimes to be shooed out by the housewife, and sometimes indulgently ignored. Fifty-six families were raising chickens, not as a cheap food source, but because their maintenance furnished one more link between life here and in the homeland. When questioned why they kept chickens, they always answered, "We raised chickens in the Philippine Islands and like to have our own even if it does cost more." And it cost considerably more. The amount spent on chicken feed and purchase of baby chicks during the year ranged from \$3 to \$277, and averaged \$37.32. If the amount received by 6 families who sold some of their chickens or eggs is deducted from the total cost, the net cost per family reporting for the year was \$32.92. Valued at current retail price, the total eggs and chickens reported eaten by all families raising chickens during the year would average \$1.52 per family.

Pigs on the other hand were raised, not primarily to be eaten by the family, but as a business venture. Six families living in Banana Camp were in the pig business. Three families received a total of \$185 for pigs sold during the year. If this is deducted from the total amount spent by the families on pigs, the cost to the families is reduced to an average of \$13.24. As in the case of chickens, pigs for most families were an economic liability rather than a source of income. Only one family reported investing in pigs and making a profit from the enterprise. The expenditures on chickens, pigeons, ducks, and pigs are shown in Table 38.



*"Other" expenditures.* Under "other" expenditures are listed six families who paid fines to the plantation of \$1 each because the husbands lost their bango tags during the year, three families who were fined by the plantation \$2, and two families with deductions of 40 cents and \$1 from their pay. One family purchased a fish net for \$15, and it is also included here. Two families paid a total of \$20 for a tombstone for the grave of the wife's mother. Six families reported small unspecified expenditures.

TABLE 38. CHICKENS, PIGEONS AND DUCKS

Item	Number of families	Percentage of all families	Average expenditure for families reporting	Range in expenditures	
				Minimum amount	Maximum amount
All families	101	100.0	\$19.85	\$3.00	\$277.00
No fowl reported	45	44.6	—	—	—
Fowl reported	56	55.4	37.32	3.00	277.00
Purchase price	25	24.8	12.86	2.25	125.00
Feed	56	55.4	31.58	3.00	152.00
PIGS					
All families	101	100.0	2.62	\$19.20	\$76.80
No pigs reported	95	94.1	—	—	—
Pigs reported	6	5.9	44.08	19.20	76.80
Purchase price	2	2.0	48.00	46.00	50.00
Feed	6	5.9	28.08	5.00	76.80

## CHAPTER XIII

### SUMMARY

The purpose of this study has been to show how the cultural values of the Filipinos have affected their standard of living in an alien environment. Such an examination is important because it indicates the manner in which traditions and custom affect the expenditure of income. The diet, the amount of education for the children, the use of medical service, and the custom of making gifts to persons outside the family, for example, are determined by these background values. Preliminary to evaluating the standard of living set forth in this study a summary of the income and expenditures of the group is desirable.

TABLE 39. ESTIMATES OF TOTAL ASSETS AND LIABILITIES OF 101 FILIPINO FAMILIES

<i>Assets</i>			
Item	Number of families	Average amount per family reporting	Average amount for 101 families
Total assets	101	\$709.74	\$709.74
Savings	60	295.26	169.55
Furniture, household appliances and musical instruments	101	339.00	339.00
Automobiles (a)	12	259.55	30.84
Bicycles (b)	31	36.06	11.07
Chickens (c)	56	12.86	7.13
Pigs (d)	6	48.00	2.85
Jewelry (e)	—	—	110.13
Insurance and saving society benefits (f)	9	439.60	39.17

*Liabilities*

Total liabilities	80	\$108.31	\$85.79
Plantation store	40	32.75	12.97
Fish, vegetables and ice cream	39	38.26	14.77
Clothing and jewelry	27	24.45	6.53
Installment balances on furniture and musical instruments	65	54.72	35.21
Transportation	3	5.45	.16
Automobile: balances due on purchase, and garage bills	8	86.20	6.83
Newspapers	2	7.50	.15
Pigs	4	23.88	.95
Loans	16	51.88	8.22

(a) Purchase price is recorded for only 10 automobiles, and average per family reporting is based upon the average price of the 10. Average for 101 families is based upon cost of 12 cars, the 2 for which information is not available valued at \$259.55 each.

(b) Purchase price of bicycles is recorded for only 4, and average per family reporting is based upon the average price of the 4. Average for 101 families is estimated upon the assumption that the 31 bicycles would average \$36.06 apiece.

(c) Purchase price of chickens is recorded for only 25 families, and average per family reporting is based upon the average amount for the 25 families. Average for 101 families is estimated upon the assumption that the expenditure of the 56 families would average \$12.86.

(d) Purchase price of pigs is recorded for only 2 families, and average per family reporting is based upon the average amount for the 2 families. Average for 101 families is estimated upon the assumption that the expenditure for the 6 families would average \$48.00.

(e) The total amount spent for jewelry during the year is as follows:

Wives	\$743.36
Daughters over 3 years	234.37
Children under 3 years	9.10
Husbands	111.99
Sons over 3 years	13.50
Total	<u>\$1,112.32</u>

The average investment in jewelry for all families is estimated by assuming the year's expenditures to be typical over a period of ten years. This estimate does not include jewelry brought from the Philippines.

(f) Premiums paid for insurance and to a savings society total \$395.64 for the year. The average investment for all families is estimated by assuming the year's premiums to be typical over a period of ten years.

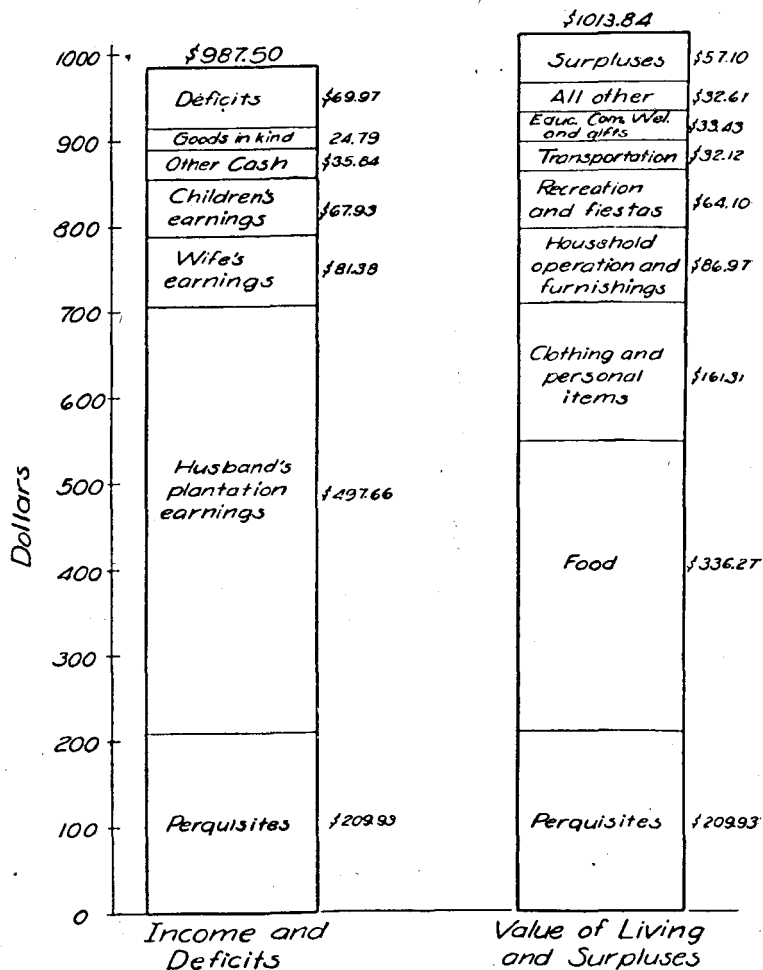
The economic status of the 101 families is indicated in Table 39, which gives the estimates of the total assets and liabilities acquired since their arrival in the Territory. At the end of the year of the study, which was a depression year, the average savings for the 101 families was \$170; however, 41 of these families had no savings at all, and 15 families had consumed all their savings during the year. Debts, including balances due on installment purchases, averaged only \$86 for all families. Thus, the balance sheet of the 101 families shows a net savings of \$84. The estimate of the value of other assets—furniture, household appliances, musical instruments, automobiles, bicycles, chickens, pigs, jewelry, insurance, and saving society benefits—brings the total assets of the families to \$710. The liquidation value of these assets, however, would be only a fraction of this amount. These families, after an average residence of ten years in Hawaii, had acquired average net assets of approximately \$624. The income and expenditures for the average family, based upon the arithmetic mean, are presented in Chart 8. The perquisites provided by the plantation, which include a house, water, kerosene for cooking, medical care and medicines, and the Health Center food average \$209.93. This makes a total average revenue of \$987.50, and total average value of disbursements of \$1,013.84.

The plantation earnings of the head of the household averaged \$498, although there was a range from \$162 to \$862, with the 53 non-contract workers receiving somewhat higher earnings than the 48 contract workers—\$509 as contrasted to \$480. The long-term contract payments, which averaged \$250, were considerably lower at this time than they had been a few years earlier. This was so because the rate of contract pay was based upon the price of sugar, and the world price of sugar had been falling for several years.

Wages for unskilled workers in the sugar industry are based upon the needs of single Filipino men. If a man marries, it is necessary for his wife to earn something if his family lives

CHART 8.

*Average Income and Deficits, and  
Value of Living and Surpluses for One Year*



according to Filipino customs and keeps out of debt. In 73 per cent of the families there was supplementary income from earnings of wives and children. The earnings of the wives increased the average family income by \$81.38, and the earnings of the children by \$67.93. Other sources of income—gifts of money, gifts in kind and garden produce—averaged an additional \$60.63, bringing the family income, exclusive of the value of perquisites, to \$707.60.

The families used up \$33.36 of their savings and acquired \$36.61 in debts. On the other hand, they paid \$33.39 in back debts and reported savings for the year of \$23.71. Their net deficit for the year amounted to \$12.87. During the year of the study, 34 of the 101 families either saved some of their income or spent no more than their income. At the end of the year only 63 families had debts which were incurred during the year, and of these 63, 31 men were on long-term contract work with a contract pay to be received some time within the next 22 months. These 31 families therefore had a means whereby their debts could be paid.

The value of living of the 101 families amounted to \$1,013.84.<sup>1</sup> Of this amount, 76.8 per cent represents cash expenditures, 20.7 per cent the value of the perquisites provided by the plantation, and 2.5 per cent the value of garden produce and gifts in kind.

Food constituted 34 per cent of the value of living. This averaged \$343.79 per family or \$95 per adult male. The analysis of food reveals the diet to be excessively high in consumption of rice, and low in the consumption of vegetables, fruits, milk, meat and fish, eggs, and fat. The 36 families spending less than \$75 per adult male on food had a diet that was not only inadequate from the standpoint of nutritional requirements, but even inadequate from the standpoint of calories. In a few families the low expenditure for food was due to an intense desire to save or to operate a car,

<sup>1</sup> This includes payment of back debts of \$33.39 and savings of \$23.71.

although in most of these families, 25 out of the 36, the low food expenditure was closely associated with a very low income. These 36 families had about half the children. This study indicates, however, that when the expenditure for food has increased, a balanced diet is not necessarily secured, although the amount consumed from an energy standpoint becomes adequate. Education of the wives in food values, or extension of the Health Center service to provide one meal a day for the entire family appears necessary if these families are to obtain an adequate diet. The consumption of vegetables would probably increase if their cost could be reduced. This could be done through the promotion of community garden projects.

Expenditure on clothing and personal items averaged \$161.31 per family, 15.9 per cent of the value of living. The husbands spent on their clothing almost twice as much as their wives spent, largely because of the cost of work clothes for the men and because of their high expenditure for street suits. The clothing expenditures of working sons, on the other hand, exceeded those of their fathers by 18 per cent. Purchases of jewelry for the women and girls constituted about one-fifth of their clothing expenditure. Jewelry contributes prestige to a family and was purchased by some even though their debts could not be paid. The Filipino housewives utilized the rice bag to the fullest advantage. Rice bags were used for infants' and young children's clothing and for underwear for the school children and for the adults. Around the home clothing was simple and few garments were worn. Adults as well as children went barefoot.

Expenditures for household operation and furniture and equipment averaged \$113.92, or 11.2 per cent of the value of living. Almost half the money expense of operating the home (\$50.65) was for electricity, and 32 per cent was spent for laundry supplies. Payments were made on furniture during the year by all but one family. The appeal of advertis-

ing and installment buying is strong. At the end of the year there were 65 families who were making payments on installment purchases, 35 of these having acquired the articles before the beginning of the year, and 46 buying during the year.<sup>2</sup> The expensive items of furniture purchased include sewing machines, washing machines, radios, phonographs, large framed photographs, beds, trunks, stoves, and electric irons. Some of these items, particularly sewing machines, appeared to be purchased at a decided disadvantage. Supervision by the management or by some cooperative organization over purchases of such items as sewing machines, washing machines, automobiles, electric irons, radios, phonographs, etc., would certainly lessen this evil. Some supervision over purchases of large framed photographs was already enforced by the plantation management.

The complete inventory of household furniture and musical instruments averaged \$339 per family. The average may give a misleading picture, for 29 per cent of the homes had no beds and half the homes no chairs. Probably 350 persons slept on the floor as is customary in most of the rural Philippines. Forty-two families had less than four blankets for the household, and 57 families less than five. These families were probably inadequately supplied with bedding for the colder winter months in a climate brisker than that of their homeland. This condition, together with inadequate clothing for cool weather, may have contributed to susceptibility to colds and other respiratory diseases, especially when it was associated with an inadequate diet.

The value of recreation, other than celebrations, averaged \$40.91 per family, 36.6 per cent of which was for tobacco, 16.8 per cent for attendance at motion picture performances, and 30.4 for purchase of radios, phonographs, and other

<sup>2</sup> Sixteen families owed balances on items bought in previous years and also on items bought during the year. Radios, phonographs, a bass viola and a piano have been included.



musical instruments. The Filipinos were not attracted by modern commercialized recreation and derived their entertainment and enjoyment mainly from group activities. Thus it was not necessary for them to spend large sums of money for their entertainment.

The chief forms of recreation in these families was the fiesta celebrating the birth of a child or a saint's birthday. Perhaps even the fiestas commemorating the death of a member of the family may be so classified. The amounts expended on these celebrations averaged \$23.19 per family, and together with expenditures for recreation constituted 6.3 per cent of their value of living.

Expenditures for all forms of transportation—automobiles, bus and train fares, hiring of private cars, and bicycles—averaged \$32.12, or 3.2 per cent of their value of living. Two-thirds of the total amount spent by all families on transportation was spent by the 15 families who operated a car a part or all of the year. In view of the fact that the plantation is 20 miles from Honolulu, and too far from the beach or from neighboring villages or plantations for walking, it was not surprising to find as many as 15 families operating a car during the year. The analysis of their expenditures, however, indicated that a car could be paid for and operated only if the family income was relatively high, and only if all other expenditures for the family was reduced to the minimum and no unusual expenditure was required. Otherwise debts were incurred. Not one of the 15 families carried automobile liability insurance.

Thirty-six families reported no expenditures on transportation, and 30 families reported no trips away from the plantation during the year. Some of the men and women have taken no trip back to Honolulu since their arrival.

Although medical care is provided free by the plantation, 55 families reported expenditures for patent medicines or for private doctors. This expenditure, together with dental costs,

averaged \$4.95. Not over 32 persons received dental care during the year. Most of these families would have been eligible for free dental work for the school children if they had been living in Honolulu, but they had to pay for it while they lived on the plantation. The prevalence of caries in the teeth of the wives and children, and the failure of families to provide themselves with adequate dental care indicate the desirability of extending the medical service of the plantation to provide dental care also.

Seventy-seven families reported educational expenditures, averaging \$7.83 per family, less than 1 per cent of their value of living. This was necessary because a rental fee is charged for school books in the public schools in Hawaii. In five families unusually heavy expenses were incurred in order to send a son or daughter to high school or to a commercial school in Honolulu. It is noteworthy that all but three out of the 21 employed sons living at home had finished the eighth grade. Education of children is a goal of extreme importance to Filipinos, for through their sons' or daughters' education, particularly if a white-collar job is the result, the prestige as well as the material welfare of the family is increased.

Taxes, religious and charitable contributions, and gifts to relatives and friends averaged \$25.60, or 2.6 per cent of the value of living. Because of the feeling of economic responsibility for members of their kin-group, 17 families sent all or part of their savings to the Philippines for support of relatives and seriously curtailed their own expenditures.

Fifty-six families kept chickens and 6 families raised pigs, although these were unprofitable ventures from an economic viewpoint. These families, however, found enjoyment in the possession of the fowl or pigs, for they provided one more link to their home life in the Philippines. Expenditures for chickens averaged \$19.85, and for pigs, \$2.62 per family, or 2.3 per cent of the value of living.

At the time this study was made, it was not possible for

Filipinos in Hawaii to carry life insurance, but since that time several insurance companies in the Territory have issued life insurance policies to Filipinos. Eight families were carrying endowment policies, and seven families belonged to a cooperative sickness benefit association that operated in one of the villages on the plantation. One family made payments to a Filipino society. These payments were to be repaid when, and only when, the family returned to the Philippines. Such insurance payments averaged \$4.15 for the 101 families.

This summary has been based upon the arithmetic mean. This average, however, may not give a representative picture of the condition of the majority of families. It might be more realistic to present a hypothetical study of a representative family in the middle expenditure group.<sup>3</sup>

The family is Visayan and came from the island of Cebu. The husband and wife had been in the Territory ten years, and nine years on this plantation. There are four children in the family, two girls, 18 months and 3 years of age, and two boys, 6 and 10 years of age. The wife has been pregnant six times. One child is dead, and there was one miscarriage. The husband is able to read and write in the Visayan dialect, but not in English; the wife is illiterate. The family belongs to the Catholic Church, but does not attend regularly and contributed nothing to the Church during the year. The family occupies a four-room house in Filipino Village. There are numerous ferns growing in pots on the porch, but no garden truck is raised. The house furnishings include the following articles: two straight chairs, a phonograph, two framed pictures, one of which is a funeral picture of the child that is dead, one foot sewing machine, one double bed, three blankets and four sheets, one trunk, one two-burner oil stove, one rough table, two benches, six enamel dishes, four enamel cups, and an electric iron. There is no silverware. The family keeps chickens.

<sup>3</sup> The figures are based upon the mode.

The husband is a long-term contract worker and received his "big pay" three months after the year covered in the survey began, and was then assigned to another long-term contract job. The wife worked the entire year washing and ironing for four or five single men, and received \$2 a month from each. She does not have a washing machine, but scrubs the clothes on the floor of the laundry house with a stiff brush.

When the contract pay was received, \$40 was put in a savings account, but during the following months it was necessary to withdraw \$30, leaving a net saving for the year of \$10. There is a balance due the plantation store of \$68. When the contract pay was received, back debts amounting to \$147.28 were paid. The family is \$89.28 better off financially at the end of the year than at the beginning. If the contract pay had not been received during the year, on the other hand, the reverse would have been true.

The family has total savings of \$130, although no money has been sent to the Philippines. The total debts, including \$25 due on installment purchases, amount to \$98.

The income of the family for the year is derived as follows:

Husband's plantation income received in monthly envelopes	\$325.00
Long-term contract pay	248.00
Wife's earnings	110.00
Gifts received at time of a baptismal celebration	20.00
	<hr/>
Total income	\$703.00

The expenditures for the year are as follows:

<i>Item</i>	<i>Expenditures</i>
Food	\$306.00
Clothing	113.30
Husband *	\$49.85
Wife *	29.25

<i>Item</i>		<i>Expenditures</i>
Children:		
1 year	\$7.25	
3 years	6.12	
6 years	8.49	
10 years	12.14	
Operating		\$53.00
Electricity	21.00	
Soap	15.00	
Starch	4.50	
Water softener	3.25	
Bluing	.50	
Cleaning material	2.00	
Matches	1.50	
Punk	4.00	
Stationery, stamps, etc.	1.25	
Furniture		20.00
Personal items		18.00
Haircuts, 12 at .35	4.20	
Hair oil	3.00	
Pocket knife	.50	
Wife's comb	3.50	
Face powder, 5 boxes at .25	1.25	
Cold cream, 2 tubes at .35	.70	
Tooth brushes, 6 at .15	.90	
Tooth paste, 12 tubes at .25	3.00	
Pins	.95	
Recreation		31.60
Tobacco	16.00	
Gum and soft drinks	1.50	
Filipino Club dues	1.20	
Motion picture theater	4.95	
Wife, 6 at .35		
Husband, 3 at .35		
Son, 10 years,		
3 at .35		
3 at .25		
Victrola	7.70	
Toys	.25	
Baptismal celebration†		30.00

<i>Item</i>		<i>Expenditures</i>
Transportation		\$1.85
One bus trip to Honolulu	\$0.85	
One automobile trip	1.00	
Patent medicines		.75
Education		3.25
Rental of books		
4th grade	1.50	
1st grade	.75	
Supplies	1.00	
Taxes and charity		9.47
Poll tax	5.00	
Unemployment tax	2.87	
United Welfare Drive	1.60	
Gifts		
at 3 funerals		1.50
Chickens—feed and purchase price (eggs and chicken eaten, amounted to \$1.60)		25.00
Back debts paid		147.28
Savings		10.00
		<hr/>
Total expenditures		771.00
Credit purchases		68.00
		<hr/>
Cash expenditure		\$703.00

\* A suit for the husband costing \$28 and earrings for the wife costing \$8 were purchased when the contract pay was received.

† The baptismal fiesta was given when the contract pay was received.

\* \* \*

An evaluation of the manner of living of the Filipino families in this study may be made from three different viewpoints. In the first place, a comparison may be made between their material well being and social status in Hawaii and in their homeland; a second method of appraisal may be made from the standpoint of the extent to which their standards of living are able to provide the minimum essentials necessary to maintain health, vigor, and productive efficiency; and in the third place, a comparison may be made between the way of life of these immigrant families and the "American standard of living."

Compared to that in the Philippines, the material well being of Filipinos in Hawaii is strikingly high. This is true whether the comparison is made with proprietors or tenant farmers, or with workers on the sugar haciendas in the Philippines. Not only are the necessities of life provided more adequately in Hawaii than in the Philippines, but the tasks of housekeeping are facilitated by mechanical equipment which is lacking in the homeland, and comfort of living is increased through certain household furnishings. It has been shown that the diet of the Filipino families in Hawaii is more adequate from the standpoint of energy and nutritional essentials than is the diet of the Ilocano families studied by Lava. Clothing for most families in this study meets the accepted social standards of the Filipinos and undoubtedly provides more adequate protection, particularly for the men working in the fields, than the clothing worn by the peasants in the Philippines. The free medical services on the plantations in Hawaii greatly increase the life expectancy, not only of the infants and children, but of the adults as well. All children attend school in Hawaii until they have finished the eighth grade or until they are sixteen years of age. Educational opportunities in Hawaii are considerably greater than in the Philippines, where, in 1931-1932, the percentage of enrollment to school population was 36 per cent for all provinces.<sup>4</sup>

In Hawaii the families have electric light in every room, running water and a sink in the kitchens, tubs with running water in the laundry house outside for washing clothes, and a separate toilet for every house. In contrast to the meager household furnishings in the rural homes in the Philippines, 100 families have kerosene stoves, 97 have sewing machines, 90 have electric irons, 72 have beds, 51 chairs, 49 phonographs, 19 radios, and 12 washing machines. In addition, many other

<sup>4</sup>In Cebu these proportions were 27.3 per cent; in Bohol, 38.2 per cent; in Ilocos Norte, 42.5 per cent; in Ilocos Sur, 50.8 per cent. *Statistical Handbook of the Philippine Islands, 1932*, Manila, 1933, p. 4.

articles, unknown in the rural districts of the Philippines, add to their comfort, efficiency, and pleasure.

Life for many of the women is easier in Hawaii than in the Philippines. In the Philippines they work in the fields, weave their own cloth, pound their rice. No Filipino woman in this study was employed in the fields; nor do the women weave their cloth and pound their rice in Hawaii.

On the other hand, the birth rate of the women in Hawaii remains high, and the decrease in infant mortality undoubtedly increases the number of small children who need care and supervision. This work must be done by the mother alone in Hawaii, for the grandparents who customarily assume a large share of these tasks have, for the most part, remained behind in the Philippines. Moreover, the tasks of housekeeping and care of the children are more exacting and time-consuming in Hawaii. The baby requires more care; the mothers must attend the baby clinics and follow the recommendations of the doctor in diet and routine. The small children must be watched in order to avoid injury from automobiles. Children must attend school, washed and dressed in clean clothes that are not too ragged. But in addition to these tasks connected with the family, 59 wives with an average of over three children at home made financial contributions to the family income. In 39 families this money was earned by washing and ironing clothes for men working in the fields, work which probably equals in physical exhaustion the field work in the Philippines, without the compensating features of sociability resulting from work done in cooperation with others. The Filipino women have changed their occupations from one of group activity in the fields to the individualistic work of caring for the needs of the family, and of supplementing the family income by extra work carried on at home. The change has not been without its drawbacks.



Over against the greater abundance of physical goods of the families in Hawaii must be contrasted the security felt by families in the rural barrios in the Philippines. They live in the traditional surroundings and according to the traditional manner, knowing that the group will care for the incapacitated members with no stigma or disgrace attached to such care. This situation produces in an individual a feeling of unity with the family group and with the larger community group. Contrasted to this security is the marked economic insecurity in Hawaii—the possibility of losing the job on the plantation and either of having to return to the Philippines, a failure in the eyes of relatives and friends there, or of drifting to Honolulu to join the ranks of the unemployed and to seek relief from the social agencies with their inadequate allowances.

Likewise, the advantages of the social and family life in the Philippines may be contrasted to the abnormal social life on the plantations with the unbalanced sex ratio, the lack of relatives, the mixture of dialect groups, and the necessity for money outlay for recreational activities. But the Filipinos who migrated to Hawaii were dissatisfied with economic conditions in their homeland, and their rich social life did not compensate for their poverty. Many intend to remain permanently in Hawaii because of the superior economic advantages there, while others hope their years spent abroad will eventually enable them to become independent farmers in the Philippines. The fact that these families migrated, however, is evidence itself of their dissatisfaction with conditions in the homeland, and, particularly in the case of those intending to remain permanently in Hawaii, of their greater satisfaction with conditions in Hawaii than in the Philippines.

The second method of appraising the standards of living of the Filipino families in Hawaii, by determining the extent to which health, vigor, and industrial efficiency of the members of the family may be maintained under the living conditions on the plantations and with the family income, is

a purely theoretical approach. The income of the Filipino families is not distributed in such a way as to secure maximum physical efficiency. Other values are satisfied before the minimum essentials necessary to provide for physical well being are adequately provided. The values which the Filipinos in Hawaii consider essential are the result of group values handed down through custom and tradition, and these determine their standard of living.<sup>5</sup> However, such an analysis indicates the adequacy or inadequacy of the family earnings under a budget so directed. It is probably the only basis on which the plantation wages may be subjected to a critical discussion. Each nationality group in Hawaii has its own peculiar pattern of expenditure. Customs in one group may rigidly require expenditures for certain ceremonials, even at the expense of an adequate diet, while the mores of another nationality group may not direct expenditures in such a rigid way. A common rate of wages must apply to all workers performing the same kind of work regardless of the effects of the different cultures upon the standards of living of the various groups.

A minimum scale of necessities should, of course, be based not on a conventional standard, but on a scientific one, as far as it is possible to determine it. In discussing the essentials of a minimum standard, Miss Hoyt writes:

Necessities should be interpreted only as what can be proved by science or, in the absence of exact science, acknowledged as essential for life and fullness of health by critical common sense. The latter criterion is admittedly a weak one, but in many cases it is the best we have.

This scientific or critical common-sense standard would emphasize first, of course, proper nutrition. We do have standards for this. Proper nutrition is not necessarily expensive. . . . It is necessary to emphasize this point because we are in some danger of setting up a minimum standard of living to please producers rather than to please scientists.

<sup>5</sup> Kyrk, *op. cit.*, pp. 373-374.

Minimum standards of clothing are more difficult to formulate than standards for food, since there seems to be some evidence that for best health at certain seasons we need no clothing at all. Here we must, therefore, take a common-sense view, as nearly as we can, since we would get nowhere with a standard, however scientific, that offended 99 per cent of the people.

Housing is closely related to health, but, since there are no exact scientific standards for housing, our consumers' economy must set up a tentative standard. For a beginning this standard may be a low one, say one room to a person and a separate sanitary toilet for every family.

The other main essential in our minimum standard is provision for the best supervision of health and medical care for every citizen.

We must be extremely careful not to set a minimum scale of living which shall institutionalize anything of doubtful ultimate merit. A small amount of what is doubtful, however, may perhaps be included in an entirely tentative way and for experimental purposes.<sup>6</sup>

The physical well being of the Filipino families is largely determined by their diet, which, in turn, is limited by the amount spent for food. Medical care is adequately provided by the plantation, and the clothing of most families is adequate for protection against inclement weather. Household furnishings may be considered adequate if it is assumed the families are to remain on a level of living not far above that of the rural Philippines, although at least 42 families possessed insufficient bedding. Thus, the crucial test of adequacy of income of these families for providing health, vigor, and productive efficiency appears to be determined by the amount that is or could be spent for food.

According to the food analysis by Miss Jones, the 36 families spending less than \$75 per adult male for food would be classified in the "danger zone;" the diet of the 32 families spending between \$75 and \$99 per adult male would be considered "intermediate;" and that of the 33 families spending more than \$100 per adult male would be rated "from good to excellent in all of the known essential nutrients."<sup>7</sup> From

<sup>6</sup> Elizabeth Ellis Hoyt, *Consumption in Our Society*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1938, pp. 369-370.

<sup>7</sup> See Chapter VII, pages 102-9.

this analysis it is obvious that at least 36 families were not spending an adequate amount on food.

In 1935, the Works Progress Administration made a study of the costs of what it considered a "maintenance level" of a manual worker's family of four persons in 59 cities.<sup>8</sup> The food scale used in this "maintenance level" is the average diet at minimum cost, drawn up by the Bureau of Home Economics.<sup>9</sup> This diet is believed "to provide enough of the different nutrients to cover average requirements for maintenance and growth and to furnish a fair margin of safety as well."<sup>10</sup> The average cost of this diet for a family of four at the "maintenance level," priced in 1935 in 59 cities, was \$448.78.<sup>11</sup> Cost of living in the Hawaiian Islands is somewhat

<sup>8</sup> M. L. Stecker, *Inter-city Differences in Cost of Living in March, 1935*. (Works Progress Administration.) Washington, 1937, Appendix B, pp. 158-171.

<sup>9</sup> Hazel K. Stiebeling and Medora M. Ward, *Diets at Four Levels of Nutritive Content and Cost*. (U. S. Department of Agriculture Circular No. 297.) Washington, 1933.

<sup>10</sup> M. L. Stecker, *Quantity Budgets for Basic Maintenance and Emergency Standards of Living*. (Works Progress Administration, Series L, No. 21.) Washington, 1936, p. 7.

The distribution of the cost of food among the principal food groups in the "average diet at minimum cost," in the Works Progress Administration study in 59 cities (March 1935), and also in the diets of the Filipino families in the three food groups in this study is as follows:

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF COSTS

Food Groups	"Average diet at minimum cost" for family of four (Works Progress Administration*)	Diet of Filipino families with expenditure per adult male		
		Under \$75	\$75 to \$99	\$100 and over
Flour, cereals, bread	16.3	39.5	33.0	26.7
Milk, cheese	23.5	13.9	13.1	13.2
Fruits, vegetables	23.2	10.8	13.4	11.8
Lean meats, fish, eggs	13.9	28.3	32.9	40.2
Fats, sugars, accessories	23.1	7.5	7.6	8.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

\* M. L. Stecker, *Inter-city Differences in Cost of Living*, p. 14.

<sup>11</sup> Miss Hoyt comments that the standard for cereals which are the cheapest source of food values is more expensive in the "average diet at minimum cost" than Sherman's estimate for the country as a whole, which was 15 to 20 per cent in 1924. *Op. cit.*, p. 321.

higher than on the mainland, and the food would cost approximately 17 per cent more.<sup>12</sup> This diet would cost \$140 per adult male on the mainland, or approximately \$164 per adult male in the Islands.<sup>13</sup>

Making allowance for the less expensive consumption of rice by Filipinos in place of the more costly potatoes and bread of the native American diet, it appears that an expenditure of approximately \$140 would provide a diet on the level of the "average diet at minimum cost."<sup>14</sup> The examination of the budgets of 95 families spending less than \$140 per adult male for food shows that in 33 families there were no expenditures which could have been eliminated or curtailed, and adequate food could have been secured only by an increase in the family income. In ten families the food expenditures would have been adequate if expenditures for fiestas, jewelry, or automobiles had been used for food; and in six additional families the food would have been adequate if money which was sent to the Philippines or saved had been spent for food. Of the six families spending an adequate amount, four ended the year in debt, although this would not have been necessary in one case if certain expenditures had been eliminated, and in one family the debt will be paid when the long-term contract pay is received. But allowing for the culture of the Filipinos, with its emphasis upon fiestas celebrating a baptismal or held in honor of a saint or of the dead, or expenditures for jewelry for the women, the family

<sup>12</sup> The author compared the food prices given in the *Monthly Labor Review* for 51 large cities for December 4, 1934, with those given for Honolulu for December 1, 1934, weighting the food according to the weights given in the food budget for a workingman's family by the Heller Committee in 1934. The food cost in Honolulu was 17.2 per cent higher than in the average of the 51 large cities. *Monthly Labor Review*. (U. S. Department of Labor, Vol. 40, No. 2.) February, 1935, pp. 475 and 478.

<sup>13</sup> Cost per adult male was computed by using the food scale used in this study.

<sup>14</sup> The use of rice in place of some of the bread and potatoes in the recommended diet was estimated to cost about one-half less than the amount allowed in the recommended diet.

income in 95 families was not sufficient to permit a food expenditure of \$140 per adult male.

Any increase in the welfare of the workers must come at this time from an increased efficiency in management or in labor. The sugar industry in Hawaii, indeed the entire American sugar industry, finds itself today in a prolonged depression with the average price of sugar at the lowest point in its history.<sup>15</sup> Under such conditions, labor costs cannot increase unless accompanied by a corresponding increase in productivity.

This study indicates certain possibilities of increasing the real income of the Filipino families with little, if any, increase in costs to the plantation. Some of these have already been mentioned. The extension of Health Center food to include one meal for the older children and adults appears to be necessary if these families are to have a balanced diet, since any increase in food expenditures by them is largely used for more meat and fish rather than for more vegetables and fruit. Cooperative community vegetable gardens would likewise no doubt encourage the increased use of vegetables. Guavas, which are an excellent source of vitamin C, may be gathered wild and the juice bottled. Guava-gathering expeditions could be organized, and fruit juice provided at little or no cost. If the plantation stores carried cheaper brands of canned goods and fresh fruit, particularly oranges, the dollar could stretch further and more adequately provide well being. Sympathetic supervision by the management over other purchases

<sup>15</sup> John Waterhouse, President of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, stated on December 4, 1939: "Disregarding fluctuations, without considering conditional payments, the average price of sugar during the eight-month period from January 1st to September 1st, 1939, was 2.85 cents. For the twenty-month period from January 1st, 1938, to September 1st, 1939, the average price of sugar was only 2.90 cents. This represented an absolute bottom for sugar price levels as compared with any previous period of similar length, in the recent history of the industry. Even in the Depression years of 1932 and 1933, when the sugar market was in a state of demoralization, the average two-year price has been 3.077 cents per pound." *Honolulu Advertiser*, Dec. 5, 1939, p. 8.

than the framed photographs would probably save the Filipinos considerable money, for they appear to be unusually easy victims of high-pressure salesmanship. Transportation facilities of a more adequate and less expensive kind, as bus lines to the beach and to Honolulu, might be provided by the plantation, enabling a larger proportion of the families to secure a change of scene during the year. The lack of dental care indicates the need for the extending of medical service to include this field as well.

On the other hand, measures might advisably be taken by the plantation which would train the Filipinos so that they could throw off any unusual managerial supervision as rapidly as possible. Evening classes for adults in English, cooking, sewing, health, cleanliness, and care of children, for example, might eliminate some of the pitfalls of the Americanization process, and produce greater understanding between the parents and their "American" children.

The social situation created by a labor supply based on unmarried male labor, when the chance to advance and marry is not provided, can be remedied only by a large proportion of the single men returning to the Philippines, or by their intermarriage with other races. The situation presents a threat to the security of every Filipino marriage or Filipino home on the plantation.

A comparison of wages and living conditions of the unskilled workers on sugar plantations in Hawaii with those of Cuba and Porto Rico is favorable to Hawaii, the plantation earnings in Hawaii amounting to considerably more than in Cuba or Porto Rico.<sup>16</sup> On the other hand, a comparison of

<sup>16</sup> According to a study of 113 Cuban families, reported by Carle C. Zimmerman in *Consumption and Standards of Living*, D. Van Nostrand Co. (New York, 1936), the majority of workers in country districts, mostly cane cutters, were paid less than 20 cents a day in 1932-33. The great masses of Cuban families probably did not average more than \$250 money income per year during 1933-34. These poor families spent an average of \$0.129 per day, per adult, for food, with one-third spending less than \$0.10 per day, the amount estimated as the minimum on which an adequate diet could be secured. Pp. 118-134. (Footnote continued on following page.)

earnings of the Filipino workers with non-casual farm labor in the United States is less favorable to the Hawaiian workers. The remuneration of the non-casual farm laborers in the United States should include a value of perquisites received, inasmuch as the wages of agricultural laborers in the United States, as well as in Hawaii, are determined to a certain extent by the kind and amount of perquisites customarily furnished in the different parts of the United States. The money earnings of persons employed in agriculture in 1936 is estimated to be \$525.<sup>17</sup> In a study of 5,330 non-casual farm laborers from all parts of the United States made by the United States Department of Agriculture for the year 1925, it was found that 97.5 per cent of the farm laborers were provided perquisites. Perquisites averaged \$30.34 for all laborers, and comprised 39.5 per cent of their total remuneration.<sup>18</sup> If it is assumed that perquisites formed the same percentage of the total remunera-

*Footnote 16—Continued.*

An equally distressing picture is presented of Porto Rican workers. In 1932-33, approximately 92 per cent of 11,325 employees reported on in sugar cane cultivation were paid less than 14 cents per hour and about 63 per cent under 11 cents per hour. The weekly earnings ranged from \$1.50 for rakers to \$9.12 for cane weighers, and (including 38 time keepers who received an average of \$12.35 a week, and 39 overseers who received \$21.15) averaged \$3.80 for the 11,325 workers. Of the 9,628 employees in the sugar mills in 1932, slightly over 81 per cent received under 14 cents an hour and approximately 67 per cent under 11 cents per hour. *Monthly Labor Review*, U. S. Department of Labor, 37, No. 4, 1933, pp. 947-949.

<sup>17</sup> Robert R. Nathan, *National Income, 1929-1936*. (U. S. Department of Commerce.) Washington, p. 27.

<sup>18</sup> The kind and value of the perquisites differed somewhat for the unmarried and the married man, 41 per cent of the remuneration of the unmarried laborer consisted of perquisites, averaging \$29.87 per month, and 38 per cent of the married man's remuneration received in perquisites which averaged \$30.93 per month. The nature of perquisites also varied with the section of the country, ranging from a value of \$15.84 in Massachusetts, to \$64.88 in Nevada.

Perquisites included room and washing; shelter, including house rent and fuel; food stuffs which included dairy and poultry products, meats and meat products, flour and meal, vegetables and fruit, and miscellaneous food items; for laborer's live stock, including feed, pasture or range; use of employers' horse or mules; use of employers' tools and vehicles; miscellaneous perquisites; and garden space. The combined remuneration of money wages and perquisites was \$73.28 for unmarried laborers; \$81.30 for the married; and \$76.78 for all laborers, with a range from \$46.85 in South Carolina to \$138.62 in Nevada.

Josiah C. Folsom, *Perquisites and Wages of Hired Farm Laborers*. (U. S. Department of Agriculture, Technical Bulletin No. 213.) Washington, 1931, pp. 22-24.



tion of farm workers in 1936 as in 1925, the total remuneration of farm workers in 1936 would be approximately \$854.

The plantation earnings and value of perquisites of the Filipinos in this study averaged \$699, lower than the average of non-casual farm workers for the United States as a whole, but considerably higher than the remuneration received by Negro farm workers in the South.<sup>19</sup>

There are no recent studies of living conditions of laborers in the beet sugar industry in the United States. Three studies made by the National Child Labor Committee in Colorado for the year 1924 indicated the prevalence of poverty and low standard of living among the contract workers.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup> The following data give the economic position of white and colored farmers in the deep South.

GROSS FARM INCOME PER WHITE AND COLORED FAMILY IN GREEN  
AND MACON COUNTIES, GEORGIA, 1934

Tenure	Green County			Macon County		
	Negroes	Whites	Ratio	Negroes	Whites	Ratio
			of Negro to			of Negro to
			White Income			White Income
Total Income Including Home-Grown Provisions Consumed						
All families	\$321	\$523	.614	\$ 435	\$1,136	.383
Owners	502	648	.775	1,133	1,199	.945
Renters	417	551	.757	644	1,150	.560
Croppers	282	385	.732	520	1,007	.516
Wage hands, etc.	112	217	.516	184	760	.242

From Arthur F. Raper, *Preface to Peasantry*, p. 55. Given by Maurice Leven, *The Income Structure of the United States*. Brookings Institution, Washington, 1938, p. 61.

<sup>20</sup> The combined family income for 125 contract and wage-labor families in the Arkansas Valley of Colorado was \$800; for 271 contract-labor families in the South Platte Valley of Colorado was \$1,163; and that of 57 contract families in Mesa, Montrose, and Delta Counties was \$743. A digest of the latter study states: ". . . The living quarters provided for the contract families are almost universally bad. . . . The contract workers have never known anything but poverty, they are ignorant and have a low standard of living. Nevertheless, many bitter complaints were heard against the housing situation." Faith M. Williams and Carle C. Zimmerman, *Studies of Family Living in the United States and Other Countries: An Analysis of Material and Method*. (U. S. Department of Agriculture, Miscellaneous Publication No. 223.) Washington, 1935, pp. 86, 88, and 89.

Such comparisons introduce the third evaluating of the Filipino living levels: an evaluation from the standpoint of the "American standard of living." How far have the Filipinos become "Americanized?" And what does becoming "Americanized" mean? Miss Kyrk writes on this point:

. . . There is a process called "Americanizing" the foreigner and "Americanizing" Europe. Others say that America is too big and too varied to admit of a characteristic American standard. It is true that each section and each class has to a degree its distinctive standard. But it is significant that modes of living of all groups tend toward a certain pattern. Given income, means of transportation and communication and they move in a predictable direction, toward that set of values that is the peculiar American standard.<sup>21</sup>

The essential characteristics of an "American standard of living" are expenditures motivated by a drive for individualism, sensationalism, and conspicuous expenditure, according to Zimmerman.<sup>22</sup> Miss Hoyt describes the chief characteristic of the "American standard" as the organization of effort and expenditures around the goal of controlling the environment, of being masters of the material world, and of having education.<sup>23</sup> Miss Kyrk likewise stresses the emphasis upon quantity rather than quality and upon display of wealth.

The "maintenance level" budget, priced by the Works Progress Administration in 59 cities in 1935, may be used as the American standard of living for low-income groups. The budget is described as containing "minimum quantities of goods and services typical of the simple requirements of persons of small means," and including "provisions for psychological as well as physical needs." The goods and services included in the budget represent, it is stated, "a well-balanced sample of the items entering into normal consumption at the

<sup>21</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 380. Reprinted by permission.

<sup>22</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 577.

<sup>23</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 301.

level specified.”<sup>24</sup> The scale is described as based on the needs of a family of an unskilled manual worker. The family

. . . consists of a moderately active man, a moderately active woman, a boy age 13, and a girl age 8. The man wears overalls at his work; no household assistance of any kind is employed. At the basic maintenance level, these four persons live in a four or five-room house or apartment with water and sewer connections. Their dwelling is in at least a fair state of repair and contains an indoor bath and toilet for their exclusive use. They have gas, ice, electricity, and a small radio, but no automobile; they read a daily newspaper, go to the movies once a week, and enjoy other simple leisure-time activities. Their food is an adequate diet at minimum cost; they pay for their own medical care. Clothing, furniture, furnishings, and household equipment are provided with some regard for social as well as material needs. Carfare, taxes, and numerous incidental expenses are included in their budget.<sup>25</sup>

This budget, shown in Table 40, when priced in 59 cities in March, 1935, averaged an annual cost of \$1,260.62. For the maintenance scale as a whole, the report specified that it is not presented as a desirable objective, since it does not permit families to “enjoy” the full fruits of what has come to be called the American standard of living.

If the “maintenance scale” is reduced to expenditure per adult male unit, the cost would be approximately \$394.<sup>26</sup> Only six Filipino families spent on their entire living as much as \$394 per adult male.<sup>27</sup> If the higher cost of living in the Islands is taken into consideration, even fewer of the families in this study could have lived according to the “maintenance scale.” On the other hand, at least 40 per cent of American families were living below the scale in 1935, according to Miss Hoyt.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Margaret Loomis Stecker, *Quantity Budgets of Goods and Services Necessary for a Basic Maintenance Standard of Living and for Operation Under Emergency Conditions*, pp. 2-3.

<sup>25</sup> M. L. Stecker, *Inter-city Differences in Cost of Living in March, 1935*.

<sup>26</sup> The same method used in this study was used to compute the expenditure per adult male unit.

<sup>27</sup> Per capita value of perquisites was included in Filipino expenditures for purposes of the comparison.

<sup>28</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 322.

TABLE 40. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE AVERAGE ANNUAL COST OF LIVING AMONG THE MAJOR BUDGET GROUPS AND PRINCIPAL SUBGROUPS FOR A FOUR-PERSON MANUAL WORKER'S FAMILY, MARCH, 1935.\*

(Works Progress Administration)

Average annual cost \$1260.62 †

Groups and Subgroups	Percentage Required at Estimated Maintenance Level
Food	35.6
Clothing, clothing upkeep, personal care:	
Clothing	11.6
Clothing upkeep	1.0
Personal care	2.0
	14.6
Housing, including water	17.6
Household operation:	
Fuel	4.6
Ice	1.8
Electricity	1.5
Household supplies	1.5
Furniture, furnishings, household equipment	2.5
Refuse disposal	0.1
Unspecified essentials	0.2
	12.2
Miscellaneous:	
Medical care	4.2
Transportation	4.3
School attendance	0.5
Recreation	5.9
Life insurance	3.7
Church, other contributions	1.2
Taxes ‡	0.2
	20.0
Total	100.0

\* Given by Hoyt, *op. cit.*, p. 320.

† Includes sales tax where levied.

‡ Exclusive of sales tax.

The Americanization process of the Filipino families in Hawaii is influenced by the Japanese culture, the Hawaiian culture, and the cultures of the other racial groups in the Territory. Nevertheless, certain typically American goods, such as the sewing machine, are acquired almost immediately upon arrival in Hawaii. Other goods, such as large framed photographs and jewelry, which are considered luxuries in the Philippines, are bought as rapidly as possible. It is only after the traditional Filipino values have been satisfied that many goods which are typical of the lower or middle class American families are purchased, such as chairs, beds, and dishes.

The percentage distribution of expenditures of workingmen's families in Denver, Minneapolis, St. Louis, and Kansas City, in the economic levels of under \$300 expenditure per unit, levels which approximate those of the Filipino families, are given in Table 41.<sup>29</sup> The distribution of expenditures of Filipino families in the second expenditure group is also shown in the same table. A comparison between the percentage distribution of the Filipino families and of the American families, both white and colored, shows the Filipinos spending a lower percentage on food, household operation, personal care, and transportation, and a somewhat higher proportion on the combination of recreation and fiestas, clothing, and gifts to relatives and friends than the American families. Both housing and medical service form a lower proportion in the Filipino budget than in the American families', possibly because of the method by which these were evaluated.

Studies of immigrant groups seem to indicate that the immigrants tend to adopt first the most conspicuous elements of the American standard of living. This is only partially true, however, of the Filipinos in Hawaii. Their expendi-

<sup>29</sup> Faith M. Williams and Alice C. Hanson, *Money Disbursements of Wage Earners and Clerical Workers in the West North Central-Mountain Region, 1934-36*. (U. S. Department of Labor.) Bulletin No. 637. Washington, 1939, pp. 130-135.

TABLE 41. PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL ANNUAL EXPENDITURES FOR GROUPS OF ITEMS, BY FAMILIES IN CITIES IN THE WEST NORTH CENTRAL-MOUNTAIN REGION, 1934-36, AND FILIPINO FAMILIES IN HAWAII, 1933-34.

	Denver Minneapolis		St. Louis				Kansas City				Hawaii
	White	White	White	White	Negro	Negro	White	White	Negro	Negro	Filipinos
Families spending per expenditure unit per year	Under \$300	Under \$300	\$100- \$200	\$200- \$300	\$100- \$200	\$200- \$300	\$100- \$200	\$200- \$300	\$100- \$200	\$200- \$300	\$160- \$259
Families in survey	25	47	6	48	6	22	6	39	11	21	38
Average family size:											
Persons	4.84	5.36	6.09	5.54	8.39	4.34	7.10	4.71	6.70	4.18	5.58
Expenditure units	4.37	4.75	5.39	4.98	7.53	3.88	6.12	4.24	5.79	3.83	—
Food expenditure units	4.05	4.41	5.10	4.67	7.17	3.64	5.69	3.92	5.34	3.62	—
Clothing expenditure units	3.64	3.87	4.05	4.19	5.86	3.12	4.95	3.49	4.52	3.15	—
Average annual current expenditure for all items	\$1,113	\$1,189	\$912	\$1,261	\$1,078	\$998	\$1,003	\$1,071	\$917	\$928	\$1,004*
% of total annual current expend. for											
All items	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Food	38.9	41.2	45.0	41.9	45.6	39.6	52.1	39.1	43.2	37.1	36.1
Clothing	9.0	9.6	9.0	9.4	10.1	10.4	7.2	9.3	9.8	10.4	17.6
Housing	17.2	14.0	11.8	14.4	18.2	14.8	8.0	15.0	11.5	15.2	13.2
Fuel, light, and refrigeration	7.9	12.1	8.8	8.4	9.6	9.9	8.8	8.9	11.0	10.8	9.9
Other household operation	2.8	2.8	2.5	3.2	2.5	2.9	3.5	4.1	2.5	3.6	—
Furnishings and equipment	2.5	3.8	4.6	2.8	.4	4.3	4.5	3.0	3.0	3.6	3.7
Automobile & motorcycle-purchase, operation & maintenance	5.5	2.8	0	3.3	0	2.4	2.2	4.3	3.7	1.6	1.3
Other transportation	2.2	2.3	4.6	3.9	3.1	4.7	1.8	3.2	2.1	5.2	1.3
Personal care	1.9	1.7	2.1	1.7	2.3	2.5	1.4	1.9	1.7	2.5	1.9
Medical care	5.1	2.8	3.5	2.9	1.2	3.6	4.2	3.8	5.0	3.9	2.4
Recreation	4.8	3.5	6.6	4.7	5.3	2.6	1.6	4.1	4.9	3.4	7.1†
Education	.4	.8	‡	.4	.2	.3	.9	1.0	.5	.3	.5
Vocation	.1	.3	.5	.3	.6	.1	.4	.3	.1	.0	—
Community welfare	.7	1.1	.8	1.6	.9	1.4	.7	1.3	.6	1.5	1.2
Gifts & contributions to persons outside the economic family	1.0	1.0	.2	.5	0	.5	.5	.6	.4	.9	1.5
Other items	0	.2	0	.6	0	0	2.2	.1	0	0	2.3§

\* Does not include payment of back debts, savings and insurance. If these are included, total is \$1075.

† Includes celebrations and funerals.

‡ Less than 0.05 per cent.

§ Other items include expenditures on chickens, ducks, pigeons, pigs, and miscellaneous items not otherwise classified.

tures, with the possible exception of the street suits of the men, appear to be dictated by their own native values and to be influenced but slightly by American customs. In fact, the emphasis upon personal appearance by the men may be explained by the great disparity in the sex ratio.

It is not surprising, however, that the Filipino standards of living have been changed so little by their life in Hawaii, for the assimilation of knowledge and values of different cultures depends upon the frequency of contacts with those cultures, and the Filipino families, particularly, lead an isolated existence with few outside contacts except through the school and the plantation Health Center. The Japanese culture might be expected to exert a greater influence on the Filipino expenditures than the so-called "American standard" because of the presence on the plantation of a large number of Japanese families. Except for the Japanese kimono and slippers, frequently worn by both sexes, little evidence was noted of such an influence.

The level of living of the Filipinos in Hawaii is closely connected with the prosperity of the sugar industry. The restricted sugar production and increased mechanization of the sugar industry have decreased the number of workers needed on the plantations and have increased the insecurity of jobs. On the other hand, many Filipinos have returned to the Philippine Islands, and further immigration has been stopped by the Philippine Independence Act. The effort of the plantation management to keep the children of plantation workers on the plantations by providing more comfortable living quarters and greater recreational facilities raises the level of living of those remaining on the plantations.

\* \* \*

In such a setting this analysis of a sample group of immigrant labor families today should provide data of value to

those dealing with the practical problems of labor adjustment in the Territory. It should certainly help to make the Filipinos in Hawaii better understood. It supplies another sounding in the series of standard of living studies which is gradually charting the living level of workers in the United States.



# APPENDICES

## APPENDIX A

### CLASSIFICATION BY ECONOMIC LEVELS

In order to classify families according to economic levels in which family composition is allowed for it was necessary to compute separately the customary expenditures of persons of different age and sex. For this purpose, scales were constructed for food, clothing, personal items and recreation, in which expenditures of different age and sex groups were computed on the basis of percentage of the husbands' expenditures.

*Food Scale.* The food scale used was a relatively simple food scale which was recommended by a group of twelve "experts" from eight countries who met in Rome in September, 1932. This scale is based upon 3,000 calories per day for the male 14 to 59 years of age.<sup>1</sup>

FOOD SCALE

Age groups	Weight		
	Male	Both sexes	Female
Over 60 years		.8	
14 - 59	1.0		.8
12 - 13   "		.8	
10 - 11   "		.7	
8 - 9   "		.6	
6 - 7   "		.5	
4 - 5   "		.4	
2 - 3   "		.3	
0 - 2*   "		.2	

\* Age groups 0-2 years is from birth to the age of 24 months.

When the food was analyzed, it was found that because of the higher cost of Health Center food than of food prepared at home the weights for children under six years of age were too low. In computing food expenditure units for each family the Rome Conference food scale was

<sup>1</sup> *Quarterly Bulletin of the Health Organization of the League of Nations*, 1, No. 2, 477-483 (1932).

used for all persons over 5 years, and the following "Modified Food Scale" for all children 5 years and under.<sup>2</sup>

## MODIFIED FOOD SCALE

Age	Weight
5 years	0.30
4 "	.47
3 "	.43
2 "	.42
1 year	.40
Birth to 1 year *	.15

\* To supplement mother's milk.

*Relative clothing expenditures.* The clothing scale is based upon the clothing expenditures of the members of the 101 Filipino families.

## RELATIVE CLOTHING EXPENDITURES FOR PERSONS OF DIFFERENT SEX AND AGE.

1.00 = (\$59.39) expenditure of married laborer.

Years of age	Weight	
	male	female
Husband and wife	1.00	0.50
Children:		
26 years	2.33	
25 "	2.28	
24 "	2.23	
23 "	2.12	
22 "	2.02	
21 "	2.04	
20 "	2.18	
19 "	2.18	

<sup>2</sup> The composition of families in the three food expenditure groups is as follows:

	Food Group I	Food Group II	Food Group III	All groups
Food expenditure per food unit	Under \$75	\$75-\$99	\$100 and over	
Number of families	36	32	33	101
Number of persons included	239	168	143	550
Average number of persons per family	6.64	5.25	4.33	5.44
Average number of food expenditure units per family	4.69	3.73	3.06	3.85
Number of families with Health Center children	23	23	23	69
Average number of Health Center children per family	1.16	1.03	.91	1.04
Per cent of caloric requirement per child furnished by H. C. food	41.3	46.3	43.0	42.9

RELATIVE CLOTHING EXPENDITURES FOR PERSONS OF DIFFERENT  
SEX AND AGE—*Continued.*

Years of age	Weight	
	male	female
18 "	2.18	
17 "	1.73	1.28
16 "	1.45	1.13
15 "	1.36	1.08
14 "	.98	.65
13 "	.64	.60
12 "	.56	.51
11 "	.43	.46
10 "	.25	.32
9 "	.23	.30
8 "	.21	.26
7 "	.19	.17
6 "	.17	.15
5 "	.16	.14
4 "	.15	.13
3 "	.14	.12
2 "	.13	.12
1 "	.12	.12
Under 1 year	.15	.15

*Relative personal expenditures.* The personal expenditure scale includes expenditures for personal items such as hair cuts, hair oils, hair shampoo, razor sets, razor blades, tooth brushes, tooth paste, cold cream, powder, and combs.<sup>3</sup> The scale is based upon expenditures recorded separately for individuals and for the entire family.

RELATIVE EXPENDITURES FOR PERSONAL ITEMS FOR PERSONS  
OF DIFFERENT AGE AND SEX.

Age and sex groups	Weight
Husband	1.0
Sons:	
16 years and over	2.2
12 - 15 years	.7
Under 12 years	.1
Wife	.6
Daughters:	
Over 12 years	.7
12 years and under	.1

*Relative expenditures for recreation.* The recreation scale includes expenditures for movies, dances or other amusements, toys, billiards, Filipino Club dues, reading matter, tobacco, soft or alcoholic drinks, and gum.

<sup>3</sup> See Table 24, p. 152, for entire list of personal items.

## RELATIVE EXPENDITURE FOR RECREATION

Age and sex groups	Weight
Husband	1.0
Sons:	
18 years and over	3.0
16 - 17 years	2.0
13 - 15 "	.4
8 - 12 "	.1
7 years and under	.0
Wife	.4
Daughters:	
16 years and over	.2
13 - 15 years	.1
8 - 12 "	.1
7 years and under	.0

*Total expenditure per expenditure unit.* All other items with the exception of education were computed on a per capita basis. The expenditure on education was computed on the basis of the number of children in school or for whom a fee had been paid for instruction of any kind. In determining the amount spent per expenditure unit according to which families were classified in expenditure groups, only money expenditures and the value of food raised or received as gifts were included. The amount paid on back debts, the amount saved, and the value of perquisites provided by the plantation were excluded. The total family expenditure per expenditure unit was determined for each family by dividing into the total family expenditure for each item for which there was a scale the total number of expenditure units for that item. Expenditure per capita was used for all other items. The totals for the different items, thus secured, were added, giving a total family expenditure per expenditure unit.

The families have been classified into three expenditure groups. Group I contains the 37 families whose total expenditures per expenditure unit range from \$80 to \$159. There are 22 long-term contract workers and 15 short-term or piece workers in this group. Thirteen of the families received contract pay during the year. Group II numbers 38 families with total annual family expenditures per expenditure unit ranging from \$160 to \$259. Of these, 18 are families of long-term contract workers and 19 of non-contract or piece workers. Seventeen families received contract pay during the year. Group III is composed of 26 families whose total family expenditures per expenditure unit range from \$260 to \$552. Only two of these 26 families spent more than \$380 per expenditure unit. Seven families are long-term contract workers and 19 are non-contract workers. Four of the families received contract pay during the year.

## APPENDIX B

### VALUE OF PERQUISITES

For the purpose of comparing the living standards of plantation workers with those of workers elsewhere, it is necessary to estimate the additional cash the plantation workers would require if they were paying for the services included as perquisites. To estimate the income necessary for families in this study should they be required to purchase these services, perquisites were valued at local or Honolulu retail prices.

Four-room houses such as those occupied by the families rent for about \$10 a month at Honouliuli and Waipahu, five-room houses for approximately \$12.50, and six-room houses for \$15, so the value ascribed rent is based on these figures. According to the County Water Works, water in the outlying districts is sold at 10 cents per 1,000 gallons. This agency estimates that in a four-room house with two faucets and five persons in the family, the water bill would approximate \$1.40 to \$1.50 a month. In estimating the value of water, allowance was made for five and six-room houses and larger families than five persons.

Kerosene is provided by the plantation at the following schedule:

Single person	5 gallons per month
2 persons	7 " " "
3 "	9 " " "
4 "	12 " " "
5 "	13 " " "
6 or more	14 " " "

Kerosene is sold locally at 16 cents per gallon in five-gallon amounts. The average cost of kerosene for each of the expenditure groups and for all groups combined was computed by figuring the cost for families of different sizes, allowances being made whenever single men were eating with a family and the cost of their food included.

Accurate records were secured from the plantation hospital and clinic as to the number of days in the hospital and the number of clinic visits by members of the 101 families for the period of a year. Families in the first two expenditure groups, if living in Honolulu, would be eligible to receive medical service at Palama Settlement where a charge of 15 cents a clinic visit is made. Consequently, the cost of clinic visits for these two groups were figured at this rate. Families found in the highest expenditure group would not be eligible for this low rate unless there was some particularly expensive illness or other exceptional circumstance. While the standard charge of Honolulu physicians is \$3 per office visit, there are a sufficient number of physicians charging only \$1 to justify using this figure for all clinic visits by families in Group III. Ward patients in one hospital in Honolulu pay \$2 a day, and hospital days were computed at this rate.

From the clinic records there was also secured a record of the medical supplies which were taken home. These were priced at a Honolulu down-town drug store, the assumption being in each instance that the quantity approximated the usual prescription.

The values for these perquisites per family per week are thus:

	Group I	Group II	Group III	All Groups
Rent	\$2.69	\$2.54	\$2.62	\$2.62
Water	.35	.33	.33	.34
Kerosene	.55	.52	.47	.52
Medical service	.41	.33	.52	.41
Medical supplies	.014	.019	.005	.013
Total	4.014	3.739	3.945	3.903
Value per family per year	208.52	194.52	204.38	202.41

In addition to the above services the plantation charges for its Health Center food three-fourths the cost of the food. There were 11 families who were provided free Health Center food. The cost to the families of the free food and one-fourth the cost of all Health Center food averaged for Group I, \$11.94; for Group II, \$6.22; and for Group III, \$2.77. The average for the 101 families is \$7.52 per year. This is included in the value of the perquisites provided by the plantation, making the total value:

Group I	\$220.46
Group II	200.74
Group III	207.15
All Groups	209.93

No attempt is made to evaluate the services supplied by the plantation in other than monetary terms. The security which free medical service

gives cannot be translated into monetary units. Likewise the degree of health attributable to the Health Center food cannot be recorded in terms of money. The purpose of placing a value on the perquisites is only to enable comparisons to be made with other cost of living studies of families who pay for all of these services.

# APPENDIX C

## TABLES

TABLE 1. NET SURPLUS AND DEFICIT FOR FAMILIES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO AMOUNT SPENT PER EXPENDITURE UNIT

### *All Groups*

Surplus or deficit	Number of families			Average net surplus or deficit		
	Contract work	Non- contract work	All families	Contract work	Non- contract work	All families
Average net deficit or surplus for all families	48	53	101	+\$23.78	-\$46.06	-\$12.87
Families reporting:						
Net surplus	30	12	42	119.39	49.85	99.52
Net deficit	18	30	48	135.57	101.32	114.16
Neither	—	11	11			

### *Families Spending Under \$160 per Expenditure Unit*

Average net deficit or surplus for all families	22	15	37	+28.94	-17.60	+10.08
Families reporting:						
Net surplus	14	3	17	130.10	110.22	126.59
Net deficit	8	7	15	148.11	84.94	118.63
Neither	—	5	5			

### *Families Spending \$160 to \$259 per Expenditure Unit*

Average net deficit or surplus for all families	19	19	38	+51.55	-30.61	+10.47
Families reporting:						
Net surplus	14	6	20	120.26	31.49	93.63
Net deficit	5	10	15	140.84	77.05	98.31
Neither	—	3	3			

### *Families Spending \$260 and Over per Expenditure Unit*

Average net deficit or surplus for all families	7	19	26	-\$67.79	-\$83.99	-\$79.63
Families reporting:						
Net surplus	2	3	5	38.35	26.20	31.06
Net deficit	5	13	18	110.24	128.80	123.64
Neither	—	3	3			



TABLE 2. QUANTITIES AND COSTS OF VARIOUS FOODS CONSTITUTING DIET OF 101 FILIPINO FAMILIES FOR A PERIOD OF 28 DAYS.

Items	Quantity consumed								Expenditure							
	Families classified according to amount spent for food per food expenditure unit								Families classified according to amount spent for food per food expenditure unit							
	Under \$75		\$75-\$99		\$100 & over		All Groups		Under \$75		\$75-\$99		\$100 & over		All Groups	
	Per family Lbs.*	Per food unit Lbs.	Per family Lbs.	Per food unit Lbs.	Per family Lbs.	Per food unit Lbs.	Per family Lbs.	Per food unit Lbs.	Per family	Per food unit	Per family	Per food unit	Per family	Per food unit	Per family	Per food unit
All food									\$23.43	\$4.99	\$28.09	\$7.19	\$29.39	\$9.64	\$26.89	\$6.87
Health Center Exclusive of H. C.									1.70	.36	1.62	.42	1.29	.43	1.55	.39
									21.73	4.63	26.47	6.77	28.10	9.21	25.34	6.48
Meat	7.10	1.49	12.13	3.10	19.07	6.23	12.57	3.21	2.29	.49	4.06	1.03	5.71	1.86	3.97	1.01
Fresh chicken	1.36	.29	4.20	1.07	3.29	1.07	2.89	.74	.52	.11	1.54	.39	1.29	.42	1.09	.28
Fresh beef	2.18	.46	3.19	.82	6.75	2.21	3.99	1.02	.59	.13	.81	.21	1.60	.52	.99	.25
Fresh pork	2.32	.50	3.21	.82	5.76	1.88	3.73	.95	.91	.19	1.34	.34	2.00	.65	1.40	.36
Soup meat	.25	.05	.41	.10	.66	.22	.43	.11	.03	.01	.05	.01	.09	.03	.06	.01
Canned meat	.90	.19	1.12	.29	2.61	.85	1.53	.39	.24	.05	.32	.08	.73	.24	.43	.11
Fish	17.03	3.62	19.32	4.94	29.26	9.56	21.75	5.55	3.94	.84	4.54	1.15	5.36	1.76	4.59	1.18
Fresh	9.45	2.01	10.89	2.78	14.69	4.80	11.62	2.97	2.27	.48	2.78	.71	3.42	1.12	2.80	.72
Canned	2.06	.44	1.94	.50	2.27	.74	2.09	.53	.48	.10	.37	.09	.53	.18	.46	.12
Dried	4.79	1.02	4.80	1.23	3.65	1.19	4.42	1.13	.98	.21	1.02	.26	.87	.29	.96	.25
Salted	.73	.15	1.69	.43	8.65	2.83	3.62	.92	.21	.05	.37	.09	.54	.18	.37	.09
Eggs (no.)	10.64	2.27	18.53	4.73	23.42	7.65	17.32	4.43	.34	.07	.63	.16	.67	.22	.54	.14
Milk (oz.)	211.58	45.10	293.53	74.93	354.78	115.95	284.33	72.67	1.57	.33	2.05	.52	2.61	.86	2.07	.53
Fresh	12.44	2.65	55.50	14.17	88.24	28.84	50.85	13.00	.07	.01	.29	.07	.42	.14	.26	.07
Canned	180.53	38.49	217.34	55.48	235.15	76.85	210.04	53.68	1.03	.22	1.24	.32	1.41	.46	1.22	.31
Ice cream	18.58	3.96	20.69	5.28	31.39	10.26	23.44	5.99	.47	.10	.52	.13	.78	.26	.59	.15
Grain products	172.61	36.80	169.74	43.32	139.87	45.71	161.00	41.15	9.27	1.97	9.28	2.37	7.88	2.58	8.82	2.27
Rice	156.62	33.39	155.87	39.79	126.34	41.29	146.49	37.44	7.94	1.69	7.96	2.03	6.34	2.07	7.42	1.90
Flour	5.16	1.10	3.61	.92	2.84	.93	3.91	1.00	.20	.04	.19	.05	.14	.05	.18	.05
Raw cereals	3.38	.72	1.63	.41	.93	.30	2.02	.52	.28	.06	.20	.05	.17	.05	.22	.06
Bread	6.98	1.49	6.62	1.69	7.15	2.34	6.92	1.77	.64	.14	.59	.15	.66	.22	.63	.16
Others	.47	.10	2.01	.51	2.61	.85	1.66	.42	.21	.04	.34	.09	.57	.19	.37	.10
Vegetables	55.26	11.78	64.61	16.49	52.42	17.14	57.31	14.63	1.97	.42	3.06	.79	2.54	.83	2.51	.63
Potatoes	25.32	5.40	20.46	5.22	14.13	4.62	20.13	5.14	.29	.06	.45	.12	.28	.10	.34	.09
Leafy	8.58	1.83	15.92	4.06	11.06	3.62	11.72	2.99	.31	.07	.55	.14	.38	.12	.41	.10
Fresh beans	1.75	.37	4.60	1.18	2.37	.78	2.86	.73	.19	.04	.44	.11	.19	.06	.27	.07
Dried beans	1.86	.40	.84	.21	.44	.14	1.07	.27	.17	.04	.07	.02	.04	.01	.10	.02
Others	17.75	3.78	22.79	5.82	24.42	7.98	21.53	5.50	1.01	.21	1.55	.40	1.65	.54	1.39	.35
Fruits	15.43	3.29	20.76	5.29	32.11	10.49	22.58	5.76	.57	.13	.71	.19	.93	.30	.75	.19
Bananas	9.86	2.10	12.31	3.14	21.89	7.15	14.57	3.72	.12	.03	.19	.05	.25	.08	.19	.05
Coconuts	1.01	.22	1.73	.44	1.00	.33	1.24	.32	.07	.02	.10	.03	.06	.02	.08	.02
Oranges	1.28	.27	1.03	.26	1.61	.52	1.31	.33	.14	.03	.11	.03	.22	.07	.16	.04
Others	3.28	.70	5.69	1.45	7.61	2.49	5.46	1.39	.24	.05	.31	.08	.40	.13	.32	.08
Fat	3.12	.66	2.37	.60	2.52	.82	2.68	.68	.33	.07	.39	.10	.39	.13	.36	.10
Oils, drippings, etc.	3.02	.64	2.24	.57	2.38	.78	2.56	.65	.30	.06	.37	.09	.37	.12	.34	.09
Peanut butter	.10	.02	.13	.03	.14	.04	.12	.03	.03	.01	.02	.01	.02	.01	.02	.01
Beverages (oz.)	.84	.18	1.19	.31	1.65	.54	1.22	.31	.27	.06	.35	.09	.52	.17	.37	.09
Cocoa—chocolate	.44	.09	.65	.17	1.16	.38	.75	.19	.14	.03	.17	.04	.33	.11	.21	.05
Tea and coffee	.40	.09	.54	.14	.49	.16	.47	.12	.13	.03	.18	.05	.19	.06	.16	.04
Sweets	13.48	2.87	11.74	2.99	9.91	3.24	11.76	3.01	.75	.15	.79	.21	.83	.28	.79	.20
Sugar	13.15	2.80	11.31	2.89	8.83	2.88	11.16	2.85	.62	.13	.69	.18	.60	.20	.64	.16
Jams and jellies	.10	.02	.10	.02	.38	.13	.19	.05	.07	.01	.02	.01	.05	.02	.05	.01
Candy	.23	.05	.33	.08	.70	.23	.41	.11	.06	.01	.08	.02	.18	.06	.10	.03
Miscellaneous	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.43	.10	.61	.16	.66	.22	.57	.14
Soda pops, gums	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.03	.01	.02	.01	.18	.06	.08	.02
Condiments	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.40	.09	.59	.15	.48	.16	.49	.12
Health Center food	41.27	8.80	39.69	10.14	33.19	10.85	38.12	9.75	1.70	.36	1.62	.42	1.29	.43	1.55	.39
Milk formula (pt.)	26.31	5.61	24.99	6.38	17.59	5.75	23.04	5.89	1.26	.27	1.20	.31	.84	.28	1.11	.28
Taro	3.66	.78	3.69	.94	4.01	1.31	3.78	.97	.15	.03	.15	.04	.16	.05	.15	.04
Sweet potatoes	4.22	.90	4.76	1.22	4.62	1.51	4.52	1.16	.04	.01	.05	.01	.05	.02	.05	.01
Veg.-meat: puree (pt.)	7.08	1.51	6.25	1.60	6.97	2.28	6.78	1.73	.25	.05	.22	.06	.24	.08	.24	.06
Families with Health Center children	64.60	112.46	55.23	120.28	47.61	115.26	55.81	115.74	2.67	4.64	2.25	4.89	1.86	4.50	2.26	4.68
Milk formula (pt.)	41.18	71.70	34.77	75.74	25.23	61.09	33.73	69.95	1.98	3.44	1.67	3.64	1.21	2.93	1.62	3.36
Taro	5.73	9.97	5.13	11.17	5.75	13.92	5.54	11.48	.23	.40	.21	.45	.23	.56	.22	.46
Sweet potatoes	6.61	11.51	6.63	14.43	6.63	16.04	6.62	13.73	.07	.12	.07	.14	.07	.16	.07	.14
Veg.-meat: puree (pt.)	11.08	19.28	8.70	18.94	10.00	24.21	9.92	20.58	.39	.68	.30	.66	.35	.85	.35	.72

\* Whenever the quantity is given, other than pounds, it is indicated in parenthesis after food.

TABLE 3. DISTRIBUTION OF NUTRIENTS IN THE DIET OF 101 FILIPINO FAMILIES

Group Food Expenditure	Calories	Protein (gms.)	Carbohydrate (gms.)	Calcium (gms.)	Phosphorus (gms.)	Iron (gms.)	Acid (Cc. N.)	Alkali (Cc. N.)	Acid Excess (Cc. N.)	Vitamin A (St. U.)	Vitamin B (St. U.)
Average per adult male per day											
Total	3,381	94.1	656	.383	1.28	.0126	76.9	18.9	58.0	2,152	66
Food group I	2,875	74.1	570	.270	1.01	.0109	63.6	12.2	51.4	1,396	44
Food group II	3,624	100.8	704	.426	1.34	.0139	82.5	22.5	60.0	2,590	78
Food group III	4,066	123.4	767	.543	1.74	.0161	95.5	26.7	68.8	2,998	92

TABLE 4. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF NUTRIENTS PER ADULT MALE IN THE DIET OF 101 AVERAGE FILIPINO FAMILIES.

Food	Calories per cent	Protein per cent	Calcium per cent	Phosphorus per cent	Iron per cent	Acid per cent	Alkali per cent	Vitamin A per cent	Vitamin B per cent
Meat & Fish	7.1	22.19	4.96	18.39	14.52	17.0	—	1.1	0
Egg	.3	.95	1.04	1.10	1.61	1.0	—	6.7	0
Milk & Ice Cream	3.3	6.79	52.22	12.15	3.23	—	16.0	15.8	0.8
Fats	2.9	.11	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Grains	72.4	62.10	10.70	54.22	53.23	82.0	—	0	0
Fruit	2.5	1.27	2.87	1.89	4.03	—	19.0	8.0	22.8
Potato	2.6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Other vegetable	2.1	5.74	27.42	11.21	23.39	—	65.0	68.4	76.4
Sugar & preserves	5.9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Candy	.2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Cocoa	.5	.85	.78	1.03	—	—	—	—	—
Peanut Butter	.1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

TABLE 5. DISTRIBUTION OF ANNUAL CLOTHING EXPENDITURE FOR ONE YEAR, 1933-1934, FOR TYPES OF CLOTHING

Age group	Number of persons	Average expenditure for all clothing Dollars	Average expenditure and percentage distribution for clothing groups															
			Headwear		Outer garments		Under garments		Night garments		Footwear		Accessories		Upkeep, repair		Jewelry	
			Dol-lars	Per cent	Dol-lars	Per cent	Dol-lars	Per cent	Dol-lars	Per cent	Dol-lars	Per cent	Dol-lars	Per cent	Dol-lars	Per cent	Dol-lars	Per cent
Husbands	101	61.54	3.74	6.0	36.58	59.3	2.93	4.8	.80	1.3	11.48	18.7	4.26	7.0	.69	1.1	—	—
Wives	101	33.36	.21	0.8	12.49	39.9	2.83	12.2	.55	1.7	4.46	14.2	1.03	3.3	2.64	8.4	7.36	22.1
Daughters:																		
Over 18 years	18	72.68	2.70	3.7	44.08	60.6	2.23	6.0	1.63	2.2	12.76	17.6	5.78	7.9	1.48	2.0	—	—
15 - 17 years	13	52.30	1.82	3.5	34.32	65.6	2.93	5.6	.31	0.6	7.91	15.1	3.67	7.0	.31	0.6	—	—
12 - 14 years	17	14.50	.72	5.0	10.45	72.0	.79	5.5	—	—	1.81	12.5	.67	4.6	.06	0.4	—	—
9 - 11 years	21	10.18	.46	4.6	7.88	77.4	.37	3.6	.07	0.7	.84	8.3	.55	5.4	—	—	—	—
6 - 8 years	31	6.42	.29	4.5	5.10	79.3	.15	2.3	.02	0.3	.63	9.8	.20	3.0	.05	0.8	—	—
3 - 5 years	41	6.46	.37	6.0	5.06	78.2	.03	0.4	.07	1.1	.92	14.2	.01	0.2	—	—	—	—
Children under 3 years	70	4.48	.38	8.4	1.84	41.0	.67	15.0	.16	3.5	.59	13.2	.71	15.9	—	—	1.3	3.0

TABLE 6. FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF FAMILIES OPERATING A CAR DURING THE YEAR.

Expenditure groups and families*	Total amount spent on automobile during year	Proportion of all expenditures	Debts incurred during year	Savings with- drawn during year	Amount saved or invested during year	Net surplus or deficit at end of year	Total debts at end of year†	Total savings and investments at end of year
Under \$160								
75	\$71.50	11.5	\$7.04	—	\$309.96	+\$380.21	\$24.04	\$317.00
\$160 to \$250								
65	5.45	.8	12.00	40.00	—	+54.67	33.75	33.00
29	41.75	5.6	138.00	—	—	-48.48	206.95	—
91	46.15	6.1	226.42	—	165.00	-59.45	226.42	238.00
17	106.37	13.6	—	65.00	—	-65.00	—	17.00
56	125.00	11.9	33.00	80.00	—	-113.00	36.00	20.00
85	180.20	17.1	—	—	30.00	+30.85	190.00	30.00
\$260 and over								
26	64.53	6.8	—	—	—	0	8.00	900.00
68	81.75	9.4	—	—	—	0	—	500.00
12	129.46	7.3	50.00	168.41	—	-218.41	65.00	1,326.00
23	182.32	13.5	—	—	—	0	37.00	—
15	210.39	12.8	150.39	—	—	-150.39	362.89	50.00
59	260.65	21.3	81.00	—	—	-81.00	121.00	Unknown
14	273.40	18.5	15.00	377.00	—	-392.00	50.00	730.00
72	296.02	33.2	1.25	349.00	—	-283.78	383.18	25.00

\* Families 14 and 17 bought cars for the first time, and families 59 and 85 sold their old cars and purchased other second hand cars. Families 75, 65, and 29 discontinued using their cars. Payments on the purchase price of the cars were made by 17, 15, 59, 14 and 72.

† Debts include balances on installment purchases.

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